Michele Murray *A Most Remarkable Novel*

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

NR LB 0BALDWP069 1 0974
RITTER LIB PERIODICALS

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—February 16, 1974, 50 cents

Billion $ Question

Defense is big in the Nixon budget, but can Nixon be defended?

The Editors

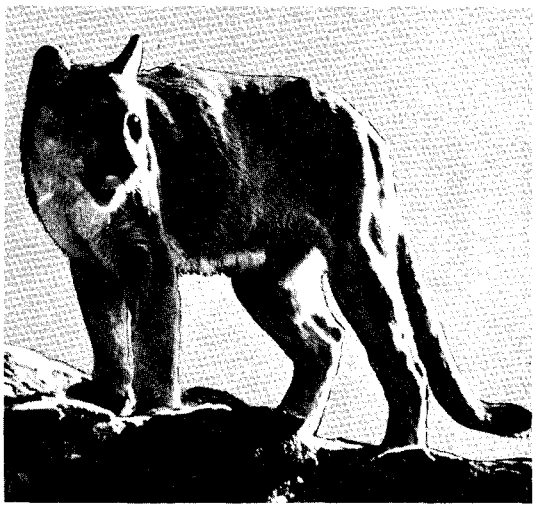
Cornered—*John Osborne*

Can Congress Forget?—*Alice M. Rivlin*

Hoover's Ghost—*Melville J. Ulmer*

Impeachment—*William E. Johnston, Jr.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Slow down. Take some time off, and get to know

THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS

An important new series from the Editors of

TIME LIFE BOOKS

When was the last time you enjoyed the solitude of a long, lonely stretch of beach? Breathed fresh, clean, sweet air? Fished in a crystal-clear mountain stream, and felt rested and renewed by "...the tonic of wilderness"?

Yes, there is still some "wild America" left, despite man's abuses. Come with us now, far beyond the crowded parking lots and picnic tables, to the little-known, unspoiled wilds where nature is still the dominant force and man is only a visitor.

You'll experience the joy and the challenge of meeting nature on its own terms

Here is what it is *really* like to rough it in the wilderness. Through magnificent photographs and lively text filled with personal observations, anecdotes and experiences of avid outdoorsmen and conservationists, you'll know what it feels like to ride a horse through the high Sierra... roam from the storm-racked coast of Maine north to Newfoundland ...view the stratified profile of the earth's geological past in the Grand Canyon... discover outrageous beauty in the wilds of Alaska, where there is a glacier bigger than Rhode Island.

A unique series of books, as useful as they are beautiful

THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS s is more than a collection of beat books. Each volume is also an adve ous narrative of men and the forc nature... a fact-filled natural history describes the geology, the climate, the ecological relationships betwee living creatures and the land... a able reference source for the e family—for the naturalist, outdoors the curious traveler and the seriou dent.

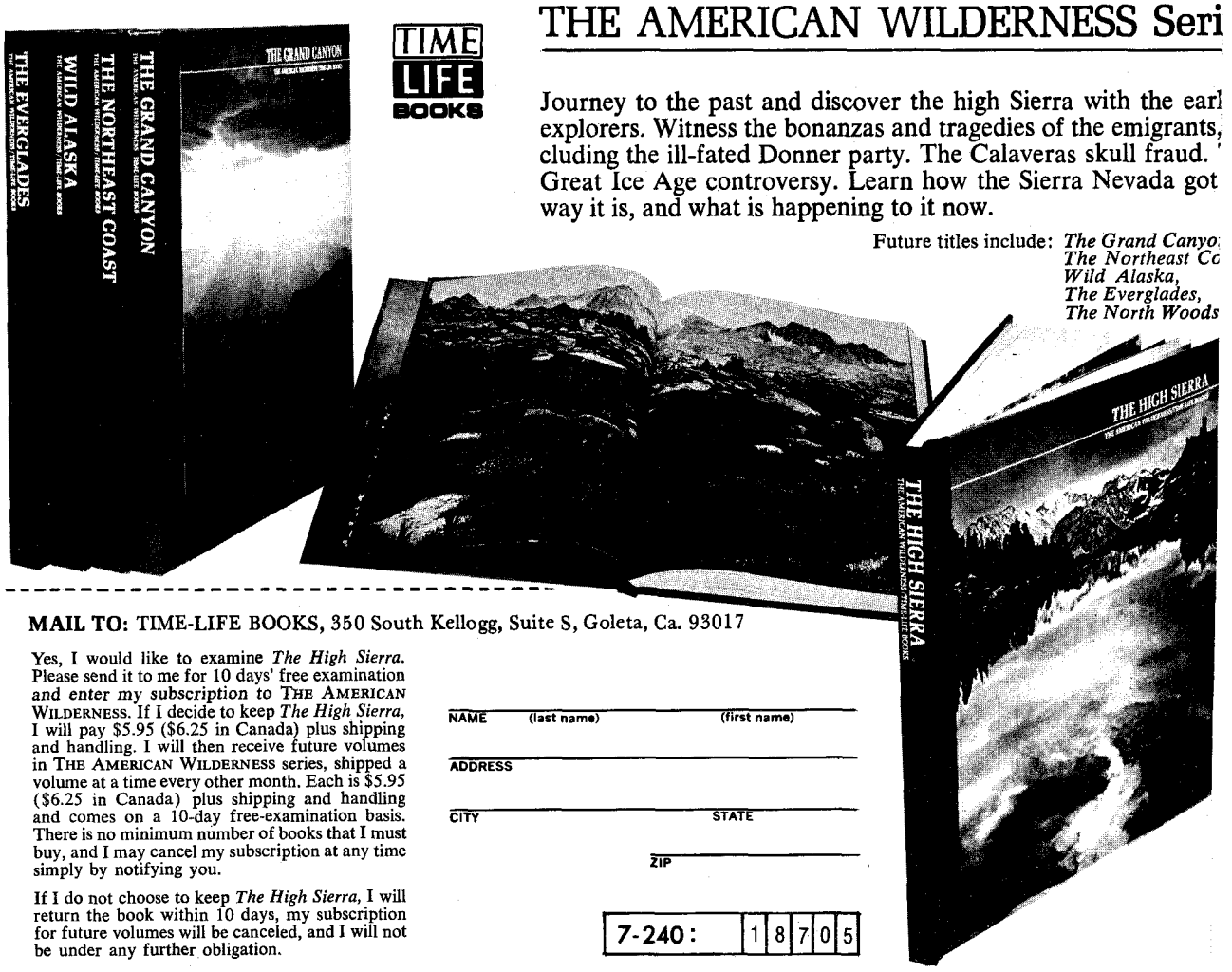
If you've ever enjoyed going int woods and mountains to fish, hike nic or just to watch the splendor sunrise, you'll want to enjoy a 1(free examination of *The High S* the introductory volume in THE A CAN WILDERNESS series. It's yours our compliments, when you ma coupon below.

Each hardbound book in the ser 9 by 10⅜ inches, contains 200 with 40,000 or more words of tex more than 100 illustrations, wi average of 85 pages of full color.

Roam through *The High Sierra* for 10 days free as your introduction to THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS Seri

Journey to the past and discover the high Sierra with the earl explorers. Witness the bonanzas and tragedies of the emigrants, cluding the ill-fated Donner party. The Calaveras skull fraud. Great Ice Age controversy. Learn how the Sierra Nevada got way it is, and what is happening to it now.

Future titles include: *The Grand Canyo The Northeast Co Wild Alaska, The Everglades, The North Woods*



MAIL TO: TIME-LIFE BOOKS, 350 South Kellogg, Suite S, Goleta, Ca. 93017

Yes, I would like to examine *The High Sierra.* Please send it to me for 10 days' free examination and enter my subscription to THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS. If I decide to keep *The High Sierra,* I will pay $5.95 ($6.25 in Canada) plus shipping and handling. I will then receive future volumes in THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS series, shipped a volume at a time every other month. Each is $5.95 ($6.25 in Canada) plus shipping and handling and comes on a 10-day free-examination basis. There is no minimum number of books that I must buy, and I may cancel my subscription at any time simply by notifying you.

If I do not choose to keep *The High Sierra,* I will return the book within 10 days, my subscription for future volumes will be canceled, and I will not be under any further obligation.

NAME _____ (last name) _____ (first name)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

ZIP _____

7-240: 18705

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Presenting The Invisible University

Once upon a time, we used to try to stuff all of our learning experiences into neat little boxes.

The spatial boxes were classrooms and the time boxes were labeled Grade School, Junior High, High School, and College.

But now we're breaking out of the boxes (perhaps because we felt we were suffocating) and finding new learning adventures all around us, all our lives.

Television documentaries, book clubs, paperbacks, magazines, 16mm films and cinema verité, correspondence courses, talking tape cassettes, museums going show business—all are part of an "invisible university" that permits any interested citizen to share in the joy of discovery with today's scientists and thinkers.

We're finding out that you don't have to have a college degree to be an educated person—and that you don't have to stop educating yourself after you get one.

This may explain the phenomenal growth of the fairly new monthly magazine Psychology Today. In just five years, it has zoomed up out of nowhere to a circulation well over 850,000 monthly copies.

Psychology Today was introduced to bridge the gap between the laboratory and the living room, the professional and the educated layman.

Each month it presents the views and findings of pioneering professional researchers and thinkers, including leaders like Carl Rogers, Bruno Bettelheim, Margaret Mead, Erich Fromm, Harvey Cox, John Lilly, B. F. Skinner, Kenneth Keniston, Herbert Marcuse.

Not jazzed up. Not watered down. Not clouded over with professional jargon. Just straight and clear in a way that both professionals and an interested general audience can enjoy and appreciate. And visually enhanced with colorful prize-winning avant garde graphics that reinforce the tingling feeling of high adventure.

Traditionally, in many college subjects, you had to grind for a year or two through agonizingly dull basics before you got to "the good parts." In Psychology Today you start out with "the good parts"—the fascinating, illuminating contemporary discoveries about who we are, why we act as we do, and how we can change.

Here are a few topics under recent discussion in our section of "the invisible university" . . .

Does sports activity really build character?

Can a psychological test predict your success in business? In investing?

Why do fat people eat even when they're not hungry?

How might psychology have prevented the Vietnam war?

Why do many bright, capable women in business have a will to fail?

Can three people be happily married—to each other?

Does "the screaming" cure really work?

How can income tax forms be made foolproof?

Can a chimpanzee learn to read and write?

Can criminals be rehabilitated through brainwashing? (And *should* they?)

Can fingers see color?

Why do we expect beautiful people to be smarter?

Should we teach children to read the way pigeons are taught to play ping pong?

Is there really such a thing as hypnosis?

Some of it is daring theory. Some is outrageous opinion. But much is startling fact and measured experiments which will rob you of some of your fondest pet notions—and provide you with powerful ammunition for your next argument with friends.

Should you be "enrolled"? It costs you nothing to find out. Just mail the coupon. We'll send you a copy to read free and enter your name as a trial subscriber at the special introductory rate for new subscribers indicated on the coupon. However, if you're not delighted with the first issue, simply write "cancel" on the bill and return it without paying or owing anything, keeping the first issue with our compliments.

BUILD YOUR OWN PERSONAL LIBRARY ON THE HUMAN SCIENCES

The lasting value and significance of the articles in Psychology Today make each issue a valuable addition to your home library of literature on the human sciences. To assist you in building this library, we periodically offer at moderate cost these handsome black slipcases for holding your back issues. Sturdily constructed and stamped in silver ink on the spine, each case holds 12 issues of Psychology Today.

Mail coupon below for Half-Price Offer to New Subscribers

8214

psychology today

P. O. Box 2990, Boulder, Colorado 80302

Please send me, without cost, obligation or commitment, my complimentary copy of the current issue. If I like it, bill me for a year's subscription (11 additional issues for a total of 12 issues in all) at just $6 instead of $12, half the regular price. If I don't like it I will write "cancel" across your bill, return it, and that will end the matter. In either case, the complimentary issue is mine to keep.

Name _____
PLEASE PRINT

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Subscriptions outside the U. S. and Canada $2.00 higher.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington
February 16, 1974

Either/Or

The Founding Fathers made the sword and threw it in the water. Now the House of Representatives has pulled the sword out again and neither the President with all his powers, nor the judiciary with all its precedents, can take it away from the coequal branch of government. The sword is, of course, the power to impeach. The right belongs solely and exclusively to one of the humblest divisions of the government, the House. What the public does not yet realize, I believe, is that the House must, and will, vote on impeachment one way or the other, up or down, yes or no.

They are all scared stiff. They are little men and excalibur frightens them. To their awed eyes it seems to leap and keen by itself. Once before it was taken out. In 1868 men with unfamiliar names, Ben Butler, Reverdy Johnson, Charles Sumner, John Sherman, Oliver P. Morton and others handled the great weapon clumsily against Andrew Johnson. The House voted impeachment, 128-47, on February 24. And the Senate failed by one vote of the necessary two-thirds to find him guilty, May 26, 35-19. A swift 91 days.

Now the sword is out again. Under the rim are the names of the men who forged it in that hot summer in Philadelphia in 1788—Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison and the rest. It is a terrible instrument, a king-killer, never to be used perhaps but always to be held in reserve, to keep the executive branch of the tripartite American government under control.

The House in 1973 made an ultimate vote on impeachment inevitable when it set up the inquiry in the Judiciary Committee. If the committee brings in a bill of particulars the 435 members must vote to accept or reject it. It will be the most dangerous vote any of them ever took because whatever they do they will probably create an unforgiving minority in their constituencies. If the Judiciary Committee decides not to recommend impeachment, there will still be a vote on the basis of resolutions offered by dissident liberal members of the committee.

Impeachment, of course, does not mean finding Mr. Nixon guilty. A great many people still think it does. It amounts to voting an accusation, a probable cause. If the House acts, it means sending it on to the Senate, presided over by Chief Justice Warren Burger to decide, on the basis of a fair trial and the evidence offered by managers from the House, whether or not to oust Mr. Nixon.

George Washington and James Madison and the rest of the Founding Fathers handed this awesome responsibility on to Rep. Peter Rodino, a second generation Italian-American who lives in Newark, writes poetry, plays paddle ball and would rather be seen naked than without the insignia of the Knights of Malta in his coat lapel. The Founding Fathers, I think, would have smiled grimly. They would have understood. Rodino stood on the floor of the House last week, drew himself up to his full five feet six and got approval for one of the most sweeping grants of subpoena power within the authority of the chamber to give; a grant that, significantly enough, had been asked for *unanimously* by his 38-member Judiciary Committee, composed of 21 Democrats (mostly liberals) and 17 Republicans. It means that he can subpoena just about anybody, and that his Republican opposite number, Rep. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, can too, and that if they disagree they can go back to the full committee.

With this power, if it comes to a showdown, Peter Rodino can get about anything from the White House he wants. If Mr. Nixon is excessively obdurate he might be cited for contempt or held to have committed what is, itself, an impeachable offense. Rodino is cautious and watching every step he takes; he is an unknown quantity. Some call him timid but I think he is savvy. He has survived 25 years in a tough district, now over 50 percent black, and has remained clean in a city tainted by corruption. He knows that no bill of particulars is worth a damn that does not transcend party lines and that is not positive and specific. He is not likely to pay much attention to the secret presidential bombing of Cambodia or the rights and wrongs of Vietnam in the inquiry because many people think these are policy matters to which a Chief Executive is entitled to be mistaken. No, the issue is likely to be whether boyish-faced John Dean III last June, in the calm monotone of his testimony, was telling the truth when he declared that the President knew about Watergate, knew about the cover-up, knew about the offer of executive clemency to the burglars and the hush money, knew as Dean put it "that there was a cancer growing on the presidency and that if the cancer were not removed that the President himself would be killed by it."

Mr. Nixon, through the foil of Senate minority leader Hugh Scott, has put out the uncorroborated declaration that the White House has unspecified records that prove Dean a liar. Leon Jaworski's special Watergate prosecution force, by contrast, certifies in open court that it has no evidence that Dean perjured himself at any time in any proceeding. It looks as though Jaworski, like Archibald Cox before him, is heading for a confrontation. And again the public asks: if Mr. Nixon has the evidence to exculpate himself why doesn't he present it? And who erased the tapes?

Rep. Rodino is teamed up with special counsel John Doar, six inches taller, lean and blue-eyed—who looks as though he had stepped out of a Western movie as the quiet-voiced sheriff. From 500 recommended names Rodino winnowed him out. A Republican from the West, he served under the Kennedys and carried the burden of civil rights enforcement in the Justice Department. He is tireless, relentless and fact-oriented. Under the methodical Rodino timetable he is supposed to come up on February 20 with a report on what is an impeachable offense, and on March 1 with a survey of evidence to date and where it is leading. A possible bill of particulars by April 30? Maybe.

Meanwhile Mr. Nixon with his state of the union speech has moved into his "come and get me" stage. I may be wrong, but I sense a stiffening of congressional spine. Mr. Nixon faced them defiantly last week and practically told congressmen "you ain't got the guts."

The colorless humdrum House is deeply stirred. What is that in its hands? A great sword.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol 170, No. 7, Issue 3084, February 16, 1974. Published weekly (except the issues of January 12, July 13, August 10 and August 24) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Phone 331-7494. Single copy, 50¢; Yearly subscription, $15; foreign, $18; armed forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1974 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

Contents

1 Comment
Billion $ Question
2 Public Jobs—*Mary Eisner*
3 Motown's Keeping a Stiff Upper Lip—*Robert W. Dietsch*
4 The Nixon Watch: Cornered—*John Osborne*
5 The State of the Economy: I—Can Congress Forget?—*Alice M. Rivlin*
II—Hoover's Ghost—*Melville J. Ulmer*
9 The Partisan Nature of Impeachment—*William E. Johnston, Jr.*
11 Films—*Stanley Karnow*
12 Restoration-1—*Michele Murray*
13 Books—Reviews by *Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Louis D. Rubin, Jr., Michael Schudson, Robert T. Francoeur, Melvin Shefftz, David Sanford, Peter Meinke, Regina Barnes*
14 Fine Print—*Doris Grumbach*
15 Poem—*Reed Whittemore*

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief—Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor—David Sanford
Executive Editor—Walter Pincus
Literary Editor—Doris Grumbach
Associate Editors—John Osborne, Stanley Karnow, Eliot Marshall
Assistant to the Editors—Gwen Somers
Assistant to the Literary Editor—Rachel Roth Baker
Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Gerald W. Johnson, Peter J. Ognibene, John Seelye, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
Films and Theater—Stanley Kauffmann
West Coast Editor—Peter Barnes
Production Manager—Mary Henninger
Assistant Production Manager—Ellen Cochran Hicks
Publisher—Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager—Elizabeth A. Scanlan
Business Manager—Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Assistant Business Manager—Constance Cole Twining
New Republic Feature Syndicate—Cherryl Holt
Advertising and Promotion—Ilene Briggin Kahane
Receptionist—Ruby McGowan

Billion $ Question

Reading the President's messages to Congress of the past 10 days leaves the impression that a message got through to him: cut the old hyperbole. One finds in them nothing like Nixon's state of the union boast last year that "life is better for Americans in 1973 than ever before in our history." There is nothing like his earlier prediction that "we can look with confidence to 1972 as the year when the back of inflation will be broken." Nor is there today so sure and inspirational a phrase as "now we are ready for the lift of a driving dream" (1971). The mood of the moment is caught in one sentence: "It would be as false to pretend that we could do—or afford to do—everything at once, as it would be to maintain that we can do nothing." The tempered tone is welcome; it is also appropriate in light of the President's precarious hold upon public esteem and indeed upon his office. Isolated as he may be, Mr. Nixon must know that he is addressing a Congress which is forced by criminal conduct in the White House to fulfill the unfulfilled 1948 promise of candidate Nixon: "I see a day when the President of the United States is respected and his office honored because it is worthy of respect and honor."

As for the substance of the messages, let's first look at what the $304 billion budget (it was $200 billion four years ago) allows the perennial Big Spender—the military. Détente and a generation of peace notwithstanding, the President wants more defense money than has ever been requested in our history. As a starter, he requests an 80 percent boost in military aid to Saigon—$1.45 billion. That is the factual rebuttal to those who assumed the US had disengaged from the civil war in Asia. And if you're wondering what happened to the Vietnam "peace dividend," the Department of Defense has its answer: "Defense outlays in constant dollars (eliminating pay and price increases) have decreased $38.8 billion since the Southeast Asia war peak in FY [fiscal year] 1968. This represents a full return of the 'peace dividend' plus an additional $7.8 billion reduction below the prewar FY 1964 level of outlays." Unfortunately there are no such things as "constant dollars"; military pay has more than doubled since 1964, for instance, and prices have risen about 60 percent. In that same period the budget of the Department of Defense has skyrocketed from $51 billion to $93 billion and in the President's FY 1975 budget "national defense" is allocated $95 billion. Because not all of the FY 1975

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

budget authority will be spent next year, defense budget outlays for 1975 are expected to be $88 billion. By the Nixon administration's calculations, this is seven billion dollars higher than this year, and the trend for the future is up. Based on programs already begun, the Office of Management and Budget projects defense outlays of $111 billion for FY 1979.

In their press briefing, Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz and OMB Deputy Director Frederic Malek tried to downplay the large jump. They said that defense outlays amount to just six percent of our gross national product, whereas the Soviet Union, they said, spends 12 percent of its GNP on the military. If the military budget were beyond the control of the executive branch, that comparison would be unassailable, but it is not. OMB estimates that some $224 billion of $304 billion government spending in FY 1975 "will be virtually uncontrollable in the short run due to existing law and prior-year commitments." (Social security payments and retired military pay are two examples of uncontrollables.) Of the "relatively controllable outlays," defense accounts for $59 billion and civilian programs $26 billion. So despite OMB's numerical gymnastics with imaginary "constant dollars" or with defense spending as a percentage of GNP, the Pentagon is getting the lion's share of what one might call the President's "discretionary budget."

Although Mr. Malek asserts that the defense budget increases are necessary and prudent from a *military* standpoint, there is also an economic motive in play. Because the "demand" for military hardware can be set arbitrarily by the government, whereas the demand for consumer products is controlled primarily by market forces, a large spurt in defense spending is an attractive panacea to an administration faced with rising unemployment. Pressed on this point after the briefing by Shultz and Malek, OMB's associate director for national security and international affairs, B. A. Bridgewater, told reporters of three programs specifically designed to stimulate employment:

► An additional $200 million for flight simulators. Because these simulators are built by aerospace companies, the extra money means more jobs for what Bridgewater called "an underemployed sector."

► Naval ship overhauls accelerated. Because many shipyards are located in economically depressed areas, speeding up work which would eventually have been done keeps skilled shipyard workers on the job rather than unemployed or in another line of work and thus "lost" to the defense sector.

► The Middle East war showed that fighter aircraft were more vulnerable to anti-aircraft defenses than had previously been thought. As a result higher levels of spare parts and ammunition will be stocked. Again this will add jobs in the defense sector.

Government make-work projects are as old as the Roman aqueducts, and as necessary. The short-term benefits of such work can eventually be overwhelmed by long-term costs, however. This has particularly been the case with America's defense industries, which prospered in the defense-spending "boom" of the 1960s but suffered a terrible "bust" when their contracts ran out. With military weapons becoming more and more expensive, fewer contracts for fewer weapons are being let. Now the Nixon administration is using accelerated defense spending to fuel an employment boom. The three programs Bridgewater cited are only minor examples.

A more significant and ominous aspect of the President's proposed military budget is the character of the new weapons he wants and their probable impact on an arms race. At his confirmation hearings last year, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said he believed in a "hot" research and development effort. That has now been translated into an $8.4 billion R&D request: $1.4 billion more than the current budget. Particular emphasis has been placed on strategic weapons. A half billion dollars has been requested for continued development of the B-1 bomber. The Trident ballistic missile submarine will take two billion dollars: the largest single item. But in addition, Schlesinger has suggested changes in America's nuclear strategy that may eventually be translated into vastly increased spending and renewal of the competition for "nuclear superiority."

President Nixon said in 1969 that "sufficiency" was the proper goal of nuclear strategy. He did not explicitly define that term but it was assumed to mean forces sufficient to maintain nuclear deterrence (they-don't-dare-hit-us-and-we-don't-dare-hit-them), without provoking Soviet fear of a first strike. Last month however, Schlesinger stated that we cannot permit "the Soviets to develop an asymmetrical counterforce capability vis-à-vis the United States." In plain English, we will have to develop highly accurate nuclear weapons. While Schlesinger says that the US will not try to achieve a "first-strike capability," the Soviet Union cannot be certain that we will stop short of that, once we have begun to acquire the weapons that would make a first strike possible. If recent history is a reliable guide the Russians will also begin developing highly accurate nuclear weapons. And if one side believes its weapons are accurate enough to destroy the other's in a surprise first strike, the present structure of mutual deterrence will totter.

The Nixon defense budget therefore raises two critical issues. The first is the accelerated level of spending: up seven billion dollars from the present budget; Congress must judge if that acceleration is justified. The second is an apparent change in America's long-standing nuclear strategy, away from "sufficiency" and toward an illusory "superiority."

When we turn from weapons to schools, we leave Las Vegas for a penny-ante parlor game. The prospects for **education** have nevertheless brightened a bit. Twice

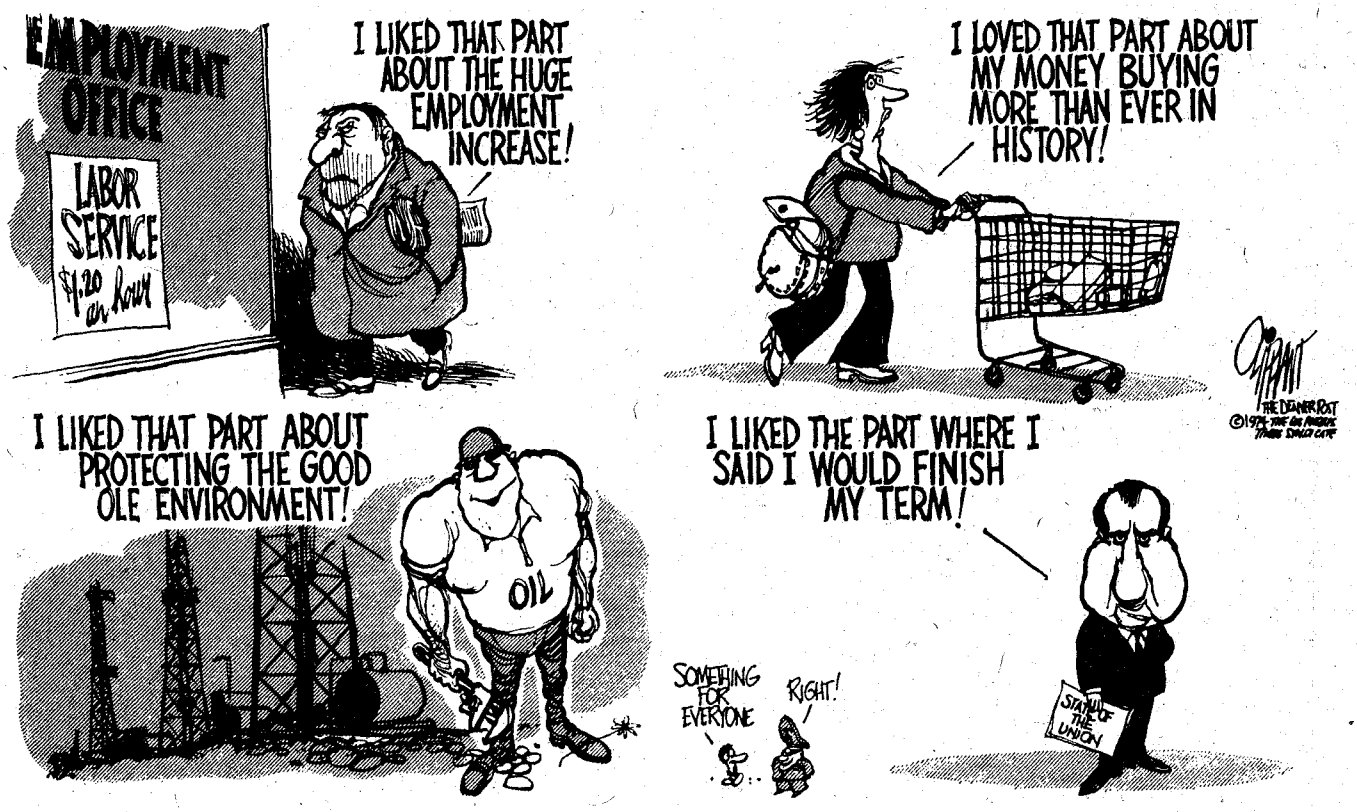
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

last year and four times in the past four years Mr. Nixon vetoed an education money bill. Today he is taking a more conciliatory line, abandoning mindless pruning as well as some of his earlier demagoguery. School busing to achieve racial integration, which Mr. Nixon strongly opposes, is mentioned in the state of the union but not in his education message to Congress. The President calls for advanced funding of education, if Congress will agree to consolidate some 30 categorical federal programs into five major policy areas, thereby giving more power to state and local authorities. Advanced funding—basically a special $2.85 billion appropriation toward next year's school budget—is a sound idea because it allows states and localities more time to plan than they have under the present yearly scramble and gamble for federal money. In fact Congress has authorized such advance planning since the late 1960s; Mr. Nixon opposed it.

But the jettisoning of categorical grants is another matter. The President has repeatedly argued for more state and local discretion, as against the categorical grant idea underlying President Johnson's Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Whatever one thinks of the concept of revenue sharing—and to some extent we all favor breaking up large concentrations of power, having become skeptical of the efficiency and responsiveness of big bureaucracies—education is one area in which state and local autonomy has produced spotty results. The quality of educational leadership has been improving lately, but many states have a proven record of spending the discretionary money they get (and the President wants them to have more of it) in foolish, wasteful and unfair ways. ESEA was intended among other things to offset the inadequacies in education at the local level. It has had a mixed record, but its programs (most of them underfunded) have met needs that state and local school systems have been unwilling or unable to meet. For instance, over the past three years congressional initiatives have made ESEA the vehicle for bilingual and special education. Half of ESEA's funds are still under Title I, which assists schools that serve poor children. Title I is not without flaws, including chronic underfinancing, misappropriation and waste, but a great many schools for children of the poor would be much worse off without it. Mr. Nixon's complaint that ESEA programs have been too narrow or snagged in red tape carries some weight. But his litanies on bureaucracy and his preoccupation with administrative tinkering have camouflaged a basic unwillingness to spend enough for schools and an ingrained distaste for using federal leverage to correct imbalances in educational priorities.

Congress has agreed to consolidate categorical grants in certain cases where the education of children is not directly involved (in purchasing equipment). Congress has also been trying to make the Title I distribution formulas fairer, and there is vast room for improvement. But in the face of clear evidence that states and localities are less sensitive than Congress to a range of special educational needs, it would be foolish to relinquish federal influence.

Suspicion of Mr. Nixon's intentions in this matter is reinforced by his call on Congress to reverse the formulas for granting money to school systems trying to correct racial imbalance. What this probably means is a substantially weaker federal push for school deseg-


EMPLOYMENT OFFICE
LABOR SERVICE $1.20 an hour
I LIKED THAT PART ABOUT THE HUGE EMPLOYMENT INCREASE!
I LOVED THAT PART ABOUT MY MONEY BUYING MORE THAN EVER IN HISTORY!
THE DENVER POST
I LIKED THAT PART ABOUT PROTECTING THE GOOD OLE ENVIRONMENT!
OIL
I LIKED THE PART WHERE I SAID I WOULD FINISH MY TERM!
SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE
RIGHT!
STATE OF THE UNION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regation. Judging by the administration's record and by the fact that the new budget cuts spending to aid desegregation from $234 million to $75 million, suspicion is warranted. At present this aid is based on the number of minority students in a given school system. Under the President's plan the money would instead be reserved for communities with unusual problems.

The proposed increase of $300 million in direct grants to university students is commendable, though the amount is a drop in a rapidly emptying bucket of money for higher education.

The most important change recommended by the President in the federal **health** system, a national insurance plan, is not reflected in the budget. This bright new project was mentioned often in the state of the union address and the package was unwrapped for Congress last week, but Mr. Nixon has no immediate plans to spend money on it. One official guess is that it would cost the government an additional $5.8 billion to run, which is nothing but professional optimism. Anyway, Congress may not follow the President's outline, if it acts at all on health insurance in 1974, nor is there any reason to think that it will stay within whatever funding level he suggests. The Nixon insurance scheme has at least two serious competitors in the Senate, one a scheme sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy and the other a proposal backed by Sens. Russell Long and Abraham Ribicoff. The Kennedy proposal is more sweeping than Nixon's in that it would virtually hand over all functions of the private health insurers to the government, along with their financial problems. Nixon would do the opposite, channeling new government work and money through private insurers. The Long-Ribicoff plan appeals to many congressmen because it is the least radical of the three: it simply transfers to the government the cost of "catastrophic illness."

There are a few significant changes in Nixon's health budget, most notably the first appropriation for Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). Last year the President signed a bill to finance hundreds of experimental group clinics across the country, at an initial federal cost of $60 million. The President also plans to increase funds for the Cancer Research Center at NIH by $73 million to a level of $600 million in 1975, and he is increasing funds for the heart disease center by $23 million to $309 million. But all the other centers at NIH will receive about the same or less than before, a fact bitterly resented by scientists who feel that the administration has misjudged the purpose of basic grants. In the case of cancer research, they think that it is more important to offer money for a wide variety of biomedical projects than for specialized study, because so little is yet understood about the disease. Specialized grant money, they say, will either go unused or channel research into a few, possibly unfruitful categories.

As he has in the past, Mr. Nixon is trying to cut back funds for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act; last year Congress prevented him from doing so. Funding for mental health research and training in the public health service also falls off sharply in the 1975 budget, with projects related to alcoholism taking the worst cuts, dropping from a peak of $218 million in 1974 to $99 million in 1975. Loans and grants for university related health projects are being reduced slightly, but many of the figures here aren't firm because the administration decided last December to release the $1.2 billion in health appropriations it has impounded over the years. Even the experts can't decide what this will mean in 1975.

In his state of the union speech, the President announced two major new proposals in **transportation** —one to begin revenue sharing for mass transit and a second to improve the railroads. Neither has been drawn up yet in bill form, nor are they reflected in the 1975 budget. However the energy crisis has had its effect on programs already on the books. Mr. Nixon backed away from his previous belief that the government shouldn't subsidize transit systems already in operation. He is willing to do that now, as well as spend more for new bus, subway and train systems. His budget raises by 50 percent the amount to be invested in urban transit systems in 1975, to a total of $1.4 billion. For the first time the budget draws on the Highway Trust Fund for construction of mass transit ($200 million worth), and it allows a $600,000 outlay in 1975 for the beginning of a $10 million program to improve rural public transport. The President is asking Congress for supplemental funds of six million dollars for general railroad research and experiments in high-speed inter-city rail service. Supplemental funds of $63 million are requested to begin work on reorganizing the bankrupt Northeast rail system. Extra money is being put into the federal passenger rail service (AMTRAK) and into a project to eliminate highway crossings along the tracks between Washington, DC and Boston, Mass. All in all, it's an improvement.

Finally, **energy** or the lack of it is much on the President's mind. Reflecting his earlier message, the budget allows funds for finding new sources through intensified research and development, and for pulling together scattered bureaucracies now dealing with the fuel shortage. Federal energy chief William Simon compares the effort to make America independent of foreign oil to our World War II crash program on synthetic rubber. Enormous amounts of federal money went into financing a variety of rubber-making processes, and eventually one proved to be the cheapest and gave us something as good as the real thing.

Close to $1.8 billion is to be spread among the Interior Department, Atomic Energy Commission and National Science Foundation for energy source development. By far the largest amount, over $800 million, will go to the AEC for nuclear reactors, an amount that can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be easily absorbed, since this program has been underway for some time. That's not the situation at the Interior Department, however, where the new energy money will make a real difference. Take the Office of Coal Research, which was in the business of modestly subsidizing some up-to-now uneconomic systems for turning coal into synthetic gas. Private industry would not pay the whole bill to do it, but it was something the coal and gas industry—and the senators and congressmen from coal country—wanted to see done. Two years ago the coal research office was a placid organization with a staff of 45 supervising $42 million in contract research. Next year it is scheduled to have 125 people with a research budget of $135 million. Funds that had been carefully ladled out in doses of one million dollars and two million dollars to pilot plants are now to be shoveled out. The pace is being stepped up and new systems explored. Pilot plants for coal liquefaction already are operating in Princeton, New Jersey and Fort Lewis, Washington. The same is true of coal gasification.

Interior's Bureau of Mines will also have a piece of the energy budget—about $70 million for energy and mining research, oil shale and synthetic fuel programs, and improving mining efficiency and safety. Interior will establish two new offices—with the help of an additional $15 million. The first, to handle "energy conservation," will among other things "promote efficiencies" in use and development of energy resources; the second, the "office of energy data and analysis" will, at a cost of four million dollars, collect and assemble "information with respect to energy reserves, production and demands in all sectors. . . ." That, up to now, has been left to industry.

The National Science Foundation ($100 million in new money) intends to conduct "basic and applied studies in solar and geothermal energy [which] will result in the near future in the design and testing of systems for heating and cooling buildings using solar energy and for commercial utilization of geothermal energy." The latter refers to taking heat from the earth's interior.

Although some of these projects are imaginative, none is as innovative as the "yardstick" Federal Oil and Gas Corporation proposed by Sen. Adlai Stevenson III. But that idea is implicitly rejected by the presence in the new budget of $27 million to start up production in the publicly owned Elk Hills Naval Petroleum Reserve, but doing it under contract with a private company. Though the House has yet to authorize any such contract, the budget says that receipts from the venture will be used to exploit other navy oil reserves in Elk Hills and Alaska.

As noted, Mr. Nixon wants to assemble the offices dealing with energy into one agency and eventually into one Cabinet-level department. The energy crisis therefore portends a new bureaucracy. The office of petroleum allocation within the Department of Interior will coordinate oil and natural gas allocation. Its charter requires it to meet the "fuel needs of priority-category enterprises, such as food production and transportation" and "to distribute the remaining available fuels on an equitable basis." It is hoped that this office will "assure a competitive atmosphere in the marketplace," while taking care of the needs of new businesses and other customers not covered by base period allocations. The office also will decide on "equitable distribution of oil feedstocks for all domestic refineries." In short the office managers will be planning a good part of our economy, with a 2000-man staff, a headquarters in Washington and 11 field offices, at a cost of $70 million. That total includes a $10 million contingency fund to deal with the possibility of rationing.

These are the highlights of the President's hopes and plans, and in articles in this issue, Melville J. Ulmer and Alice Rivlin tell us more. So now what happens? Customarily the President proposes and Congress disposes. Rarely however has a Congress been less disposed to follow the lead of the White House. The legislators will in some fashion deal with or delay most of the items on Mr. Nixon's agenda. But the most pressing question before them this year is not whether the proposed programs are defensible; it is whether the President himself can be defended against the solemn charge of unfitness for office.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Need for PEP

Public Jobs

In 1971 when the national unemployment rate rose above six percent and an uncomfortably large number of aerospace engineers and Vietnam veterans were out of work, the President reluctantly approved a modest public employment program (PEP) that has supported about 200,000 jobs in state and local government. Such influential economic advisers as George Shultz, then head of the Office of Management and Budget, had little enthusiasm for PEP, and when its authorization expired two years later, the administration opposed its renewal; it said the "emergency" had passed. Top Labor Department officials testified last summer that the "substantial" growth of unsubsidized jobs in the private sector and the steady decline of the unemployment rate toward the President's goal of 4.5 percent made PEP unnecessary.

The new manpower revenue-sharing legislation signed late last year reflects these views. It does not *require* that any money be spent for public employment. Most of the $1.55 billion appropriation for fiscal 1974 will be divided among 500 state and local administrative units to finance whatever manpower services they choose. And since the $1.55 billion is no more than was available in 1973 for all federal manpower programs, excluding PEP, local administrators who choose to spend 1974 funds on public jobs must cut back elsewhere.

The new law does target an extra $250 million for public jobs in state and local government, but it's available only to areas where unemployment rates exceed 6.5 percent for three months. (In contrast PEP expenditures—which totaled $2.25 *billion* for two years—were "triggered" when the national unemployment rate reached 4.5 percent.) Finally local administrators can spend these extra funds for job training or other manpower services, instead of public jobs. Even if they don't, $250 million is enough for about 35,000 jobs paying $7000 a year, assuming the entire amount is spent for public service employment. (Even the 200,000 jobs provided by PEP accommodated less than one percent of the total unemployed during those years, according to one recent Labor Department estimate.) Moreover setting the "trigger point" at 6.5 percent gravely understates the severity of an area's unemployment: the unemployment rates of certain demographic groups may rise to intolerably high levels before the areawide averages approach 6.5 percent. (For example, the unemployment rate for blacks has usually been about twice as high as the rate for whites, and the proportion of teens unemployed has increased to more than five times the adult male rate in recent years.) Since the new law does not say how large an area must be to qualify for a portion of the extra $250 million, inner cities or low-income neighborhoods that border on more affluent areas may not get any of it.

The administration's squeamishness about public service employment is hard to understand in light of the generally successful experience with PEP. The 1973 Manpower Report of the President emphasized the speed with which it was implemented (169,000 persons were put in public jobs within six months) and the usefulness of the public services provided. According to George Washington University Professor Sar Levitan, who evaluated PEP for the Senate last year, it did not create "make-work" jobs for its participants; many areas used the money to fill positions already budgeted but left vacant because of limited local revenues. Expecting the program to be temporary, states and localities concentrated on such work as street repairs that could be easily phased out, rather than teaching or health care which more quickly become "institutionalized."

Moving PEP jobholders into permanent positions on private firms' payrolls if possible was one goal especially important to the administration. But since most states and localities used their PEP funds to hire as many employees as possible, they had little left over for training and related supportive services. Thus the jobs tended to be entry-level ones, requiring few skills and little training. Levitan estimates that the program was able to directly help only about one-third of its participants find permanent jobs in private industry or government, although a sizable number appear to have found other jobs on their own.

According to the Senate subcommittee which drafted the manpower legislation, Congress had thought that patronage would be a major problem, but it didn't work out that way. There was a tendency to "cream" public jobs applicants; PEP participants were more educated and less likely to live in poverty than were unemployed persons as a group in most areas. The hiring priorities worked to the advantage of adult males, members of minority groups and Vietnam veterans; a disproportionately small share of jobs went to women, the young and the elderly. The haste to get the program underway and the lack of funds for training were probably partially responsible for this.

In short the main lessons of the PEP experience are that the program met some of its objectives better than others, and that a permanent and substantially bigger program could remedy many of PEP's deficiencies. To maximize the number hired, PEP sacrificed training and created mostly starting-level jobs: more money would make this trade-off less sharp, and an assurance of future funding would reduce the emphasis on jobs that can be easily stopped or started.

Certain longer-run concerns further underscore the desirability of an enlarged and more permanent public jobs program. The pressing need for public services at the local level, the apparent limits on revenue sources for state and local governments, and the persistently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

high unemployment rates of certain disadvantaged groups in the work force are all problems that an upturn in the business cycle does not remove. While the size of PEP should not be inflexible, there is still need for more than a token program when the unemployment rate falls in the range of 4.5 to five percent, as it has recently.

The alternatives the administration appears to prefer involve either direct or indirect subsidies to private industry to stimulate employment opportunities. Two examples of direct subsidies advocated by the administration in the name of "saving jobs" were the loan to Lockheed and the development of the SST. Aside from the priorities reflected, such enterprises are not labor-intensive, and investing public money in them will provide relatively few jobs per dollar of expenditure.

All of the indirect fiscal approaches to stimulating employment will also have lower job yields than comparable spending for public jobs. Tax incentives intended to increase consumer spending or business investment do not automatically increase employment. For example the investment tax credit is an especially inefficient way to encourage employment in private industry. And in lost federal tax revenues (nearly $4 billion currently), the investment credit alone costs the government more than was ever considered for PEP.

William Fellner, the newest Nixon appointee to the Council of Economic Advisers, favors a public jobs program substantially larger than PEP, arguing that the principal alternatives to it are worse. The only other politically viable choices, he says, are a more inflationary fiscal policy (with its indeterminate effects on private employment) or greater reliance on welfare-type payments to the people who aren't working (something the President sternly opposes).

The cuts in funds for public jobs are especially regrettable now, when the country again appears headed for higher unemployment. The most recent figures from the Department of Labor show the national unemployment rate at 5.2 percent. We don't know how much damage the energy shortages will do to jobs, although one alarming indication is that layoffs accounted for a larger than usual share of the recent increase in unemployment. Another warning came last week from the Council of Economic Advisers; it expects the current slowdown in the rate of economic growth to continue for at least six months. Stressing that "America must not ask men and women to sacrifice their economic lives to ease the energy crisis," Senator Gaylord Nelson (D, Wisc.) plans to hold hearings on these matters in the next few months. Revival of the Senate bill renewing PEP—which the House never acted upon—is also a distinct possibility.

Mary Eisner

Ms. Eisner is a former New Republic staff writer, now studying public policy at Harvard.

Motown's Keeping a Stiff Upper Lip

Detroit

Detroit's biggest problem today weighs over two tons, is 19 feet long, eats up a lot of gasoline and won't sell. It's the luxurious standard-sized auto on which this Motor City has prospered for many years. Today, dealers report trading year-old $8000 big cars for $2600 new subcompacts even steven. Industry inventories of some big cars equal six months of normal sales, while would-be buyers of subcompact Pintos, Vegas and Gremlins must wait 60 days or more for delivery. Over 300,000 auto workers already have been affected to some degree by the sharp slowdown in sales, more than 50,000 have been idled permanently, and the layoffs and reduced work weeks have not yet come to an end. Production in January was 31 percent below a year earlier; only American Motors, whose output is almost all small cars, reported a sales gain. The auto slowdown is hitting Michigan particularly hard; the state's employment security commission estimates that unemployment may exceed 12 percent or 500,000 persons this year—a level not reached since the 1958 recession.

The Big Three—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler—are now rushing to revamp production facilities. This expenditure may reach $750 million or more in the next year, and by early 1975 the producers hope to be in position to have at least 60 percent of capacity geared to small cars. Almost a dozen new small cars are being rushed for the coming model year. By most judgments, the company in deepest trouble is GM, mainly because it lagged on switching to smaller models. The only smaller cars not selling well are three GM products, Pontiac's Ventura, Buick's Apollo and Oldsmobile's Omega. They come mainly with eight-cylinder engines; they're bigger than most compacts and get less gasoline mileage and they all have a "big car" image.

Chevrolet has dumped its "See the USA" advertising in favor of a campaign for "sensible cars." TV personality Hugh Downs is appearing in Ford commercials claiming that in a Phoenix-to-Los Angeles fuel economy run he got 18.8 miles to the gallon while driving a big LTD model. The company swears that surveys show more than 85 percent of TV viewers "believed the results." Whether that is intended as a compliment to the viewers is left to one's imagination. Environmental Protection Agency tests have shown that a 5000-pound car like the LTD averages 9.2 miles per gallon. Buick dealers have been supplied with mileage charts describing how Century and Apollo models got more than 20 miles per gallon in cross-country drives.

In the last several years Detroit has learned to make

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a profit on compact cars, but it still reaps a much greater reward on a big car than a small one, perhaps twice as much. Profits are helped by the extras that usually go with a bigger car. Such earnings yield is why Detroit for so long was reluctant to get into compacts. Lee Iacocca, president of Ford, reportedly once remarked that selling his luxurious Mark IV is the equivalent of mining gold. Years ago GM's legendary Alfred Sloan said "added product"—meaning added weight and accessories—means added profits. The industry has been operating on that wisdom ever since.

So while conceding the trend to fuel economy is not transient, Detroit is planning how to sell more units at prices that will bring greater profit returns. Cars will get smaller and more streamlined and they will become, thanks to more aluminum, plastics and thin steel alloys, lighter; that means better gas mileage. But the producers remain convinced that after this present period of "uncertainty" (Detroit's favorite word these days), buyers will be back in greater numbers than ever, demanding that their smaller, more economical cars be equipped with air conditioning, power brakes and steering, FM radios, sun roofs and automatic transmission. That would take up part of the profit slack. The bulk of that slack, however, will have to be taken up by higher prices on the small cars and a more narrow dollar gap between, say, a Cadillac and a Vega. Such a pricing policy already is evident; in the two price increases affecting 1974 models, the bulk of dollar markups have been stuck on the compacts. Two years ago a buyer might have found a US-built subcompact for under $2000. Today the price is about $2500 and two years from now it might be well above $3000. Detroit has been greatly helped, of course, by devaluations of the dollar. Ford likes to say it has 20 models selling for less than a VW beetle.

In Washington there is talk that the soaring cost of gasoline will dampen auto use and perhaps even buying. So, the Washington talk goes, will the frequently proposed annual sales taxes on cars that get less than 20 miles per gallon. Not here in Motor City. There remains an inbred confidence that Americans love cars, won't be deterred by price, will travel more than ever when the Arab embargo ends and/or the Federal Energy Office reaches a firm decision on rationing, and will want "comfort and convenience" (meaning options and plush interiors). Nor has Detroit given up on the big car. "How can you fit a man, wife, three kids and a dog into a Pinto?" they ask.

You can't, at least not without some discomfort. So given Detroit's past successes, given the smoldering desire to have two or three cars in every garage—even if they have to sit there for lack of gasoline or money to pay for fuel—who can say these automen who still drive their gas guzzlers to and from Detroit's bedroom suburbs are all that wrong?

Robert W. Dietsch

The Nixon Watch

Cornered

Despite the sense of confidence and rightness that was noted in my last report and that the President tried once again to convey in his state of the union speech, the overwhelming impression that this inquirer continues to get at the White House is that Mr. Nixon is a cornered President with, in the foreseeable end, no way to go but down and out. Several events during the last days of January and the first week of February, including the President's delivery of "a personal word with regard to . . . the so-called Watergate affair" at the close of his state of the union address, strengthened the impression.

Only an underlying desperation could have induced the President, whether in person or through assistants, to persuade Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania to do what he did for Mr. Nixon on January 20.

Scott, the Republican leader in the Senate, said that he had seen secret White House material that convinced him that John Dean, the President's former staff counsel, lied under oath when he told the Senate Watergate committee that Mr. Nixon knew about attempts to cover up the Watergate scandals before March 21, 1973, when the President says he first learned about these attempts at the White House and elsewhere. Sen. Scott refused for days to say what the material was that he had seen. Nobody else, speaking for the President, would say what it was or that Scott was right in interpreting it as he did. Scott, angered and disturbed by the failure of White House spokesmen to back him up, disclosed that Gen. Alexander Haig, the President's staff chief, had shown him summarized transcripts taken from taped recordings of some of Mr. Nixon's conversations with Dean and others. Gen. Haig had previously been understood to say that he'd had nothing to do with the Scott performance and didn't think it was a good idea. It was a poor idea, as a matter of fact. It risked alienating a powerful senator whose support is vital to the President. The summaries, like the tapes from which they were derived, were known to be equivocal and inconclusive, open to interpretations that might or might not be deemed to favor the Nixon cause. These are the reasons why persuading Sen. Scott to defend the President and denounce John Dean the way he did may fairly be called an act of desperation.

Mr. Nixon knew when he delivered his Watergate peroration on state-of-the-union night that a related development was about to compound his peril. The special Watergate prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, had on that day asked the President's chief Watergate lawyer, James D. St. Clair, for some more White House tapes and documents and St. Clair had indicated to Jaworski that Mr. Nixon was in the mood that he expressed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when he said: "As you know, I have provided to the special prosecutor voluntarily a great deal of material. I believe that I have provided all the material that he needs to conclude his investigations and to proceed to prosecute the guilty and to clear the innocent. I believe the time has come to bring that investigation and the other investigations of this matter to an end. One year of Watergate is enough." The President's third assertion since November that he isn't going to quit and his qualified promise to cooperate with the House Judiciary Committee in its impeachment inquiry "in any way that I consider consistent with my responsibilities" obscured the indication in his reference to the special prosecutor that a confrontation similar to the one that ended last October with the dismissals of Archibald Cox and Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus and the resignation of Attorney General Elliot Richardson could be in the offing.

Two happenings after the President spoke fired up Sen. Scott and entangled him in the differences with Cox's successor, Special Prosecutor Jaworski. A Jaworski assistant, Richard J. Davis, told a federal judge in Washington that "we have no basis for believing that Mr. Dean has committed perjury in any proceeding." This observation was addressed only to a claim that Dean would not make a believable prosecution witness in subsequent Watergate trials. It had nothing directly to do with Sen. Scott's statements that Dean had lied under oath about the President's knowledge of and involvement in Watergate offenses and therefore was a perjurer. But it stimulated derisory speculation, already rife in the senator's home-state press, that Scott had let himself be made a White House dupe. He insisted to the President and afterward to Gen. Haig that a Nixon spokesman speak up for him, firmly and fast. The second event that magnified Scott's anger and insistence was Leon Jaworski's appearance on ABC's "Issues and Answers" TV program.

Jaworski, coming over from the tube to this viewer like a parboiled statesman of the law, carefully confined himself to citation of his assistant's declaration in court that no basis had been found "for believing that Mr. Dean has committed perjury." With a fine distinction that probably escaped many viewers, he differentiated between fallible memory and unintended errors and the sort of deliberate lying that a conscientious prosecutor or judge treats as punishable perjury. His meaningful remarks, the ones that shook the Nixon legal establishment headed by James St. Clair, had to do with the President's and his press spokesmen's assertions that Mr. Nixon had "voluntarily" given the special prosecutor all of the tapes and documents "that he needs to conclude his investigations." Jaworski said that he'd had to insist upon getting what he needed from the White House and replied as follows to the President's contention that the special prosecutor already had the evidence he needed: "Simply to say that I have sufficient evidence to indict certain individuals is not enough. That is not the criterion, as I see it." This view of the duty laid upon him has to be read along with Jaworski's indication that he and his staff have just about concluded that a sitting President cannot be indicted. Jaworski seemed to be saying that, beyond indictments and trials of Watergate offenders, he is obligated to determine and to say whether in his opinion Mr. Nixon has committed or been responsible for offenses for which he cannot be indicted but should be impeached.

Jaworski said he'd been promised that he'd be told on the following day whether he'd get from the White House the additional tapes and documents that he had requested. White House reporters, awaiting that news, got instead a written statement from the President's press spokesman, in the name of James St. Clair, asserting with studied contempt that "the Special Prosecutor and members of his staff have seen fit to discuss in public their views regarding John Dean's veracity." St. Clair said that "the tapes and other evidence furnished to the special prosecutor . . . do not support sworn statements made by Mr. Dean" and do "support what the President has said." The President's chief defender also said that the matter shouldn't be discussed "in the public media." Inasmuch as he, the President, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler and Sen. Scott had been discussing it in the media, this seemed to be a rather dim way of giving Sen. Scott the support he'd been demanding, if that was what was intended. Scott understood that it was what was intended and his press spokesman said the senator appreciated the support.

Vice President Gerald Ford had said that he was offered a look at the summaries that Scott was shown and said no thanks. On CBS' "Face the Nation," he was asked why he refused to look at the evidence and responded: "Supposing I had looked at it, and supposing I was of a nature that I wanted to help myself get a higher position? I could interpret that information to my own personal good, and to harm the President. I don't think I should be in that position. I think it would be a very bad position, being number two, to misinterpret some information that might make it more difficult for the President and more beneficial to me." This extraordinary statement fascinated me for two reasons. It showed that Gerald Ford is thinking, as of course he must, about becoming Number One. The second reason is that Ford's statement was made in part upon the advice of White House counsellor Bryce Harlow, who has heard some of the recordings and read the summaries that sent Hugh Scott plunging out on his limb. So far as I know, Harlow has not lost confidence in Mr. Nixon and his chances of survival. But it's interesting that he's telling his friend the Vice President to take it slow and easy.

John Osborne

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The State of the Economy

I—Can Congress Forget?

The President last week didn't mention the bitter fight he had had with the legislators over the budget for fiscal '74. The impoundments, the lists of "programs to be eliminated," the epithets, the hostility had disappeared. It was as though last year never happened. Indeed the most interesting feature of the new budget is its sharp contrast with the last one. The contrast stems from the changed economic situation facing the nation, and from the changed attitude of the President toward Congress. Conciliation is the new tactic.

This time last year the economy was finally pulling out of the doldrums and into a respectable boom. Output was growing at a healthy rate. Unemployment was edging down. And both trends gave promise of continuing. Inflation was still a worry, although the beast seemed to have been at least temporarily leashed by Phase II controls. Economists were pretty well agreed that the appropriate budget policy was restraint. With the private economy moving into higher gear the government should not be adding to inflationary pressures by paying out a lot more than it was taking in.

Achieving a noninflationary budget without a tax increase, however, required radical surgery. Projections revealed that if the programs then on the books or proposed by the President all were funded (with allowances for rising costs), expenditures would exceed revenues by about $20 billion. Since a deficit of that size would clearly put far too much upward pressure on prices, the President had only two choices: cut expenditures or raise taxes. Since he was determined to stick by his campaign promise of no tax increase and unwilling to cut into defense spending, his ax fell on domestic programs. He withdrew or postponed his own social proposals, notably welfare reform and health insurance, and made drastic cuts in a long list of other programs, including services for the poor. Congress first sputtered, then resisted, and aided by some court decisions that knocked down presidential refusals to spend, it managed over the year to put much of the money back. But revenues rose, too, so the deficit actually turned out to be smaller than expected.

As the 1975 budget goes to Congress, the economic outlook is far less favorable than it was. As expected output did rise rapidly early in 1973, but it was slowing down as the year ended. Unemployment, which had not dipped under five percent since the summer of 1970, crept down to 4.6 percent in October, then started up again. Even before the Yom Kippur war made the energy crisis acute, the economic boom appeared to be petering out. Oil shortages made things worse.

The President's economic advisers now predict a "slow rate of economic expansion" in the first half of 1974, "and possibly a decline, with rising unemployment." They believe the second half of the year will be better, but their optimism assumes that lower interest rates will revive the sagging housing market, that small cars will find willing buyers, that energy shortages will gradually be alleviated and that nothing else goes sour in the interim.

If they could look exclusively at the outlook for output and employment, even the official optimists would probably favor a substantial budget deficit to help stimulate the economy. But then there's the problem of inflation. As everyone knows prices really took off in 1973. Food and fuel were the chief culprits, but dollar devaluation, worldwide increases in raw material prices and erratic price policies in Washington did not help. The Consumer Price Index went up 8.8 percent between December 1972 and December 1973. Wholesale prices went up a whopping 18.2 percent in the same period, suggesting that the consumer price rise may get worse before it gets better.

So the budget-makers were in a tough spot. The output and employment projections called for bigger deficits, but the price projections called for smaller ones. The President evidently decided to walk the tightrope, submitting a budget whose fiscal implications are much like last year's: moderate restraint.

It is, however, much easier to construct a budget of moderate restraint this year, in part because the administration's anti-spending bias of a year ago had some effect in holding down expenditures, but mostly because the inflation itself has jacked up tax receipts faster than spending. Increased wages have put many families into higher tax brackets even though higher prices have wiped out much of the real increase in their standard of living. Hence a noninflationary budget can be achieved without either a tax increase or the radical surgery that last year's situation required.

A year ago the administration released its broad preliminary proposals for federal outlays in fiscal 1975—the first time an administration had made such estimates so far in advance. Contrasting these early estimates with the ones just submitted throws some light on what has happened in the intervening year both to the economy and to the administration's thinking:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the new budget calls for $16 billion more in spending for 1975 than had been anticipated a year ago. The boom in agriculture has reduced the need for farm subsidies and saved the government about three billion dollars. Defense spending is up significantly. The larger totals allow modest increases in some health and education programs, but the only big increase category is "income security and veterans," up $14.2 billion over amounts anticipated last year. Most of this is attributable to the big social security rise that the administration opposed, but the increase is also due to higher outlays for food stamps, the new supplementary security income for the aged and disabled poor and other programs. The administration could not have reduced these items if it had wanted to. A continuation of last year's cutback philosophy would have netted only a billion or two, squeezed from education, manpower or health programs, and earned the continued wrath of Congress.

Indeed it is the tone of the budget document, not the numbers, that has shifted most noticeably. Last year the President was hostile to many activities that the federal government has long carried on and to which Congress has devoted funds. Last year's document spoke of eliminating programs "because they do not justify the taxes required to pay for them," of the "inefficiency of the present system," of "disappointments and failures," of "well-intentioned social programs too often poorly conceived and hastily put together," of "outmoded," "ineffective," "ill-defined" or "runaway" government spending. This year's document drops the name-calling and the impugning of congressional ability to make wise public decisions. The "new federalism" is still there—but it is couched in positive not negative terms. The advantages of consolidating grants and giving state and local governments more flexibility are defended on their merits and in some cases in the context of additional funding.

The new constructive tone was echoed in the state of the union address in which the President made, for the first time since his reelection, positive proposals for domestic social legislation. Reverting to his first term, when the words "income strategy" were used to characterize the Nixon approach to poverty, he promised among other things a revamped proposal for national health insurance and a major new effort to replace overlapping assistance programs for the poor with a new cash income security program.

The new health insurance and income security plans do not appear in the budget for two good reasons. First, even with the wildest optimism about congressional cooperation it would not be possible to get them into operation in fiscal 1975—the days when presidential budgets contained money for new programs to be rushed into being in a few months are happily over. Second, there is no room even in this looser budget for major new initiatives. If the President and Congress are serious about substantial new social programs next year or even the year after, they will have to finance them by cutting existing programs, by raising taxes or by running larger deficits —none of which is politically appealing. This is why the administration's health plan is likely to have small visible budget cost (most of the cost will be borne by employers and workers) and why the income security proposal, when it comes, will not involve new spending for several years. This tightness of funds will pose a serious dilemma for Congress if the President's economic forecasts turn out to be overly optimistic and a serious recession threatens (with or without renewed inflation). Congress will then be sorely tempted to drop fiscal restraint and use the federal budget to stimulate the economy. The easiest way to do that is to cut income tax rates or raise exemptions. But to do this is to give away the future revenues needed to finance new social programs—revenues without which there may be no room for new initiatives until well into the next presidential term.

If the economic situation does not worsen, the President clearly hopes that Congress will forget that last year ever happened and settle down happily to hearings on his budget. He also hopes it will forget his past vacillation and ambivalence toward new social legislation, accept his new health and welfare proposals in good faith, and engage in a constructive dialogue about them. It's a lot to ask.

Alice M. Rivlin

MRS. RIVLIN *is an economist at the Brookings Institution and co-author of* Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget.

II—Hoover's Ghost

There is something bone-chillingly reminiscent about the annual report of the President and his Council of Economic Advisers, delivered last week. Five times before, the council has bravely faced the future, infallibly discovering a silver lining in the gathering clouds of unemployment, tranquility overtaking the storms of inflation, the sunshine looming "just around the corner" in the economic weather map. True to form, the report for 1974 foresees a "slowdown" until early summer succeeded by a cheery upturn, restoring jobs and stable prices. Disquieting memories are raised of the unrelieved 1970-71 recession, the abortive and highly inflationary expansion of 1972-73, and the dismal trends now in progress, none of which had been appropriately advertised in the annual economic reports of the past. It's as though Chief Economic Adviser Herbert Stein had resolved, "I'd rather be wrong

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than prescient."

Judicious citizens will disregard the President's reluctance, despite badgering from the press, to christen the latest offspring of his economic policies. A recession by any other name is just as steep, and there is no doubt that everything is currently headed downward except prices, oil profits and unemployment. The critical questions are how to stop the toboggan, and how to generate a recovery. It is here that the President, with his Hooverian faith in the automatic beneficence of the market, is most unsettling. The administration's policy is one of inaction rhetorically offset by vague talk of "contingency plans," carefully inserted in the budget message.

The causes of the current recession are clear to everyone including the Council of Economic Advisers. The economy was weakened early last year when the traditional nixonomic "corrective" of tight money and high interest rates was brought into play to "dampen" inflation. The predictable result was no letup in inflation but a drop in the activity of the important residential construction industry, so dependent on the cost of mortgage money. The Arab oil embargo in the late fall turned an already vulnerable economy definitely downward. The effects of the energy crisis, including the skyrocketing of fuel prices, were fourfold:

► The strategic automobile industry cut output sharply because of the falling sales of its gas-greedy products.
► The direct or indirect impact of the fuel shortage forced some other industries, including airlines, electric power and resort services to curtail activity.
► The sharp rise in domestic fuel costs, inspired by the inordinate boost in the price of Arabian oil, served as a substantial tax on consumers and continues to do so, leaving them less to spend on other things.
► The secondary effect of all the above is the belt-tightening of the newly unemployed, who spend less and thereby depress industry in general.

Other worried citizens are doing the same. Note that in just three months, from last October to January, unemployment jumped from 4.6 to 5.2 percent of the labor force. At the same time consumer prices rose at an annual rate of more than eight percent.

The administration's reaction is "wait and see," with no effort made to lend support where it is needed. Indeed the government's role thus far has been to deepen the downswing. For the past six months the budgetary position of the federal government has been depressing to business and households and remains so, with taxes and other receipts (in the national income accounts) exceeding outlays. A higher social security tax effective at the start of this year worsened the imbalance. Even the budget just proposed for the fiscal year beginning in July, in full knowledge of the current downturn, is barely neutral in its impact on business activity. The officially projected deficit of nine billion dollars for fiscal 1975 reflects limited receipts, contingent on reduced business activity in the remainder of this year, rather than expanded outlays, which in turn are inflated by allowance for a sharp increase in prices. Figured on the significant "full employment" basis, the government's budget shows *surpluses* of one billion dollars in fiscal 1974 and of six billion dollars in 1975, hardly a bold, expansionary posture. Somehow, according to the economic report, the President's advisers believe that the wondrous ways of the "free" market will overcome the deliberate budgetary obstacle to prosperity, and even more that they will correct maladjustments stemming from the energy crisis, reallocate men and materials from depressed industries to others, and increase supplies sufficiently to stop inflation so that all will soon be well—a succession of events that comes as close to likely experience as a fairy tale.

True, the council's report states that "the administration is now in the process of preparing for support action . . . if [the economy] is clearly running outside the general track described . . . for 1974," a resolution that is echoed in the President's budget message. But at best that would mean positive action of some kind about six to nine months from now, forthcoming even then, apparently, only if business slipped by an amount the administration considered duly alarming. Since both fiscal and monetary measures are effective only with a lag, relief in the council's latest "game plan" would not be felt until the spring of 1975, if then. By that time it is conceivable that Americans may have been led through the wringer of a depression.

Since the word "depression" evokes memories of the 1930s, I must add that I do not have in mind a catastrophe of that magnitude—mainly because of such built-in safeguards as bank deposit and unemployment insurance, virtually all of which we owe to FDR. Yet in the absence of vigorous government correctives there is a danger of a far more severe decline than any so far experienced in the post World War II era. Much will hinge on the nature of prospective international repercussions. Unlike the United States (where less than 10 percent of the crude oil consumed normally comes from the Middle East), Western Europe and Japan are almost entirely dependent on Arabian supplies. The extortionist pricing policies of the Arabs have already delivered a mighty blow to their industries and a drain upon currency reserves, despite the special trade deals that Japan, Great Britain and France have worked out. If under this stress our closest trading partners are forced to cut down drastically in their purchases of American products, the impact on our income and output, timed so unpropitiously, would be calamitous.

Though it would be unwise to count on them, there are factors in the present situation that in the longer run might bail out a sinking American economy;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under pressure from their customers, the Arabs might moderate their price gouging, thus reducing the squeeze of mountainous fuel costs in the developed countries on consumer purchasing power, business profits and currency reserves. In time Arab producers will have to spend their booty—it would be insane to sit on it indefinitely—and what better markets for consumer goods and investments can be found than in the United States? But these are possibilities, certain in neither their dimension nor their timing. Meanwhile a recession is underway here and in the other developed countries and once in train, a cumulative downswing can be hard to stop. Even the Council of Economic Advisers anticipates a rise in unemployment up to six percent of the labor force in the months ahead. Hence immediate action of the following kind, both for short- and long-run economic stability, is required:

► Embrace all prices of crude oil and its products under federal control and roll them back. The booming profits of the oil companies last year demonstrate that the more recent price increases are not essential as incentives for expanded explorations and output. Nor would high-cost crude oil from the Middle East, if the Arab embargo is lifted, endanger an effective system of price controls. Of about four billion barrels of crude oil consumed in the United States in the 12 months *before* the embargo, only 339 million came from the Arabian countries and Iran.

► Ration gasoline to distribute the supply fairly and rid us of those mile-long waiting lines. If prices are rolled back, rationing will be needed all the more.

► Maintain actual or standby price controls for goods and services in general (including food) with a staff large and competent enough to impose and enforce ceilings when necessary. Letting wage and price controls expire April 30, as the administration recommends, makes little sense.

► Proceed at once to give the unemployed jobs in the public service, thereby maintaining purchasing power while providing essential goods and services to consumers and business, including mass transportation, public housing and environmental improvements.

► Pass the bill for a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation introduced by Senator Adlai Stevenson III, but amended to allow a more generous appropriation than the $50 million per year requested. The major oil companies have assets in the billions, yet we cannot count on them to expand production sufficiently even with incentive pricing. Crude oil output was reduced in 1972 and again in 1973 with both prices and profits rising. A sluggish, monopolistic and restrictive industry might be revitalized by a government corporation strong enough to compete, capable of exploiting the rich oil reserves still available on government land, and able to utilize the advanced technology for oil shale reduction developed at public expense in the Interior Department. According to a Bureau of Mines technical progress report issued in October 1971, it was then possible to produce synthetic crude oil from oil shale at a cost of $3.74 a barrel, after allowance for a 12 percent profit. Even if costs of production have risen by 50 percent since then, the output would be a bargain. Should the potential profits from the enormous oil shale resources, now federal property, go to the public or the oil barons? Under whose aegis are they more likely to be used in the public interest?

The President proposes doing none of these things. Only Congress, in the present crisis, can ensure that the American public will assume control of events instead of being victimized by them.

Melville J. Ulmer

The Partisan Nature Of Impeachment

by William E. Johnston, Jr.

Recent discussions of impeachment have duly noted the political nature of this constitutional procedure. Too often, however, these discussions have contended that "politics" is one thing, "partisanship" is another: the process of impeachment is political, but it ought not be partisan. This distinction is more impressive than meaningful. There is a passage in Franz Kafka's collection of parables that speaks of "daily life, which is the only life we have." We may say that partisan

WILLIAM E. JOHNSTON, JR., *is a Ph.D. candidate in political philosophy at the Claremont Graduate School.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politics is the only politics we have. Nor is this regrettable. Partisan politics is politics of the two-party system in our country. But in a larger sense it is exceedingly difficult to imagine any representative democracy without a robust, truly partisan two-party system. Thus it is not mere partisanship of which we speak. It is partisanship properly regulated. The process of impeachment properly regulates partisanship for constitutional ends, which are, among other important ends, to ensure domestic tranquility and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Nor does our Constitution repudiate parties or partisanship. While it does not speak of parties or the two-party system expressly, it is founded on the principle that parties or factions are a necessary feature, if not the central, most profoundly vexing problem of liberty in a democratic republic. The vexation of this problem stems from the need to secure the public good and private rights and at the same time to preserve popular government, which requires partisanship. Partisanship is necessary for the reason Edmund Burke explained: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." The problem of partisanship is to see to it that only the bad fall. The struggle will then not be so contemptible. One has only to read *The Federalist Papers* by John Jay, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison to appreciate the importance of noble partisanship in this struggle against contemptible partisanship.

The struggle may be at its greatest, most partisan during impeachment controversies. In *The Federalist Papers,* Hamilton, speaking as Publius (as did the others), devoted two essays to this matter, numbers 65 and 66. An examination of these papers, particularly the former, reveals beyond doubt the original and still authoritative understanding of the political and partisan character of impeachment.

Hamilton begins paper 65 by defining the subjects within the jurisdiction of the Senate when it takes on its judicial responsibility after the House of Representatives initiates impeachment with a bill of accusation. These subjects "are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men, or in other words from the abuse or violation of some public trust." He then adds this significant sentence in elaboration: "They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety be denominated POLITICAL, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the society itself." The word "political" is emphasized by Hamilton in uppercase. He continues: "The prosecution of them, for this reason, will seldom fail to agitate the passions of the whole community, and to divide it into parties, more or less friendly or inimical, to the accused."

While our present parties were of course unknown when Hamilton wrote, he anticipated them when he foresaw that "in many cases" the prosecution of impeachable offenses "will connect itself with the pre-existing factions, and will enlist all their animosities, partialities, influence and interest on one side, or on the other; and in such cases there will always be the greatest danger that the decision will be regulated more by the comparative strength of parties than by the real demonstrations of innocence or guilt." Clearly, then, partisanship is both a necessary aspect, thus salutary, and a great, "the greatest danger," in the decision of impeachment. The determination whether to impeach is made in the most partisan body, the House, which is the most numerous and most frequently elected branch of the federal government. The most partisan of bodies is allowed to bring the most partisan of charges. The most partisan of charges is expected to be the impeachment of a political act done by an officeholder for partisan reasons.

It is no accident that present controversies raising the question of impeachment arise from a partisan activity, espionage by one party against the other, apparently sanctioned by the presidency or at least conducted under color of its authority, and the subsequent cover-up of the involvement of the President in such a politically partisan action. Partisanship accuses partisanship today. Illegal acts, we find, are committed in the name of party and party politics. The impeachment process is the means provided by the Constitution by which partisanship is harnessed to punish unrestrained partisanship. It is also no accident, accordingly, that Madison as a member of the first Congress recognized that "it may, perhaps, on some occasion, be found necessary to impeach the President himself," for the President is responsible for the conduct of his subordinates. The President is subject "to impeachment himself, if he suffers them to perpetuate with impunity high crimes or misdemeanors against the United States, or neglects to superintend their conduct, so as to check their excesses."

But the most partisan House is not allowed to try these most partisan charges. Trials of impeachment are removed to the Senate, the least frequently elected, relatively small, longest-term body of the government. The Senate, we are told by Hamilton, is most fit for this important trust.

After having defined the subjects of the jurisdiction

COMING: Frederick Anderson discusses Wallace Stegner's life of Bernard DeVoto— "The Uneasy Chair"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the impeachment proceeding and establishing their political character, Hamilton explains the Senate's fitness by posing a series of questions: "What it may be asked is the true spirit of the institution [of impeachment] itself? Is it not designed as a method of NATIONAL INQUEST into the conduct of public men? If this be the design of it, who can so properly be the inquisitors for the nation, as the representatives of the nation themselves?" Because impeachment is truly a national inquiry, is it not conducted by the nation's representatives assembled in the Senate, which as a body is "likely to feel *confidence enough in its own situation*, to preserve unawed and uninfluenced the necessary impartiality between an *individual* accused, and the *representatives of the people, his accusers?*" (Hamilton's emphasis). The Senate shall judge according to its own political position which is, we are to understand, a product of its more independent representative character, as well as the result of its involvement in the partisan passions that have enjoined the controversy, that is, its elective complexion. The Senate is fitted for this most crucial role because it is more immune from the immediate accusations of the people in their partisanship while it is not insensible to these, and sensible to the accused individual's interests or partisanship while also more immune to that individual's own partisan power.

Hamilton is careful to point out that the Supreme Court, a possibly less political alternative to the Senate as a court of impeachment, is incapable of the necessary responsiveness to and resolution about the partisan essentials of the process due to the Court's exclusively judicial character. The Supreme Court is not elected, is too small, and does not represent anyone (by representing everyone it represents no one). The Senate thus represents the fitting mean "dictated by the nature of the proceeding."

There is a further consideration. The highest court must be left to consider later questions that might naturally arise from impeachment. It is important to recall at this point that the Constitution divides the matter of impeachment into two separate proceedings, a political process with a judicial complexion, and a judicial process with a political complexion. The Constitution says that judgments of impeachment by the Senate "shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States. . . ." Then separate provision is made for specifically criminal matters. The Senate is to try the accused for political offenses; the courts, including the Supreme Court, are to try the accused for crimes other than or in addition to political crimes. The Constitution puts it this way: ". . . the party convicted [in the Senate] shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law." Consequently only in this particular case is a kind of double jeopardy, otherwise prohibited by the Fifth Amendment, sanctioned. The accused may be politically punished according to the judgment in the Senate, and then judicially punished according to the judgment in the courts. Therefore judges of the Supreme Court cannot be allowed to judge in both cases. And, too, it is to be clearly perceived in this arrangement that a man or "party" may suffer political condemnation while being spared later criminal punishment. Political crimes need not be statutory crimes, though they may be both.

It is to be doubted whether Hamilton or the Constitution could be more clear about the partisan and political nature of impeachment. Hamilton goes so far as to call the impeachment process "the political machine." This machine is made deliberately "complex," according to Hamilton, precisely because of its fundamentally partisan character. This means that impeachments cannot lightly or easily be entered into (there have been only 12 in our history, only one of a President, with but four convictions, and no convictions of a President); yet once begun the machine is awesomely complete and final.

Hamilton concedes that this political mechanism is less than perfect, as the whole Constitution itself is less than perfect (we have added 26 amendments). In political matters perfection is not to be expected or sought. Were "the most exact standard of perfection" pursued in government, he tells us, "society would soon become a general scene of anarchy, and the world a desert." Because men are imperfect they require laws, even imperfect laws. Great men in great political offices will not always be paragons of virtue, so this cumbersome political machine is required. It is *because* great offices may do great harm as well as great good that a great machine, equal to them in its massive political weight, is needed. As James Madison remarked in an earlier *Federalist Paper* (51), "It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary." Publius went on to add: "In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

We should not be ashamed of our partisan energies as Americans; nor should we be ashamed of the partisanship that commits us to the felicitous perpetuation of our political institutions. Liberty requires our partisanship; and well-regulated partisanship is what makes liberty a blessing. The impeachment institution is a process that is to be energetically commenced in order that our other political institutions may endure undamaged by corruption and our constitutional partisanship be secured for ourselves and our posterity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Mother and the Whore

(New Yorker)

The director of this film, Jean Eustache, is French, born 1938. Perfect. This put him in the right country at the right time for someone of his temperament (if one can fancy a whole potential person being dropped by the stork). Intellectually he came along after postwar existentialism, after the subsequent vogue of café existentialism, just in time for the current era that mocks existentialism. (Much of *The Mother and the Whore* takes place in the Café Flore, Sartre's hangout, and Sartre comes in for a ribbing.) Cinematically Eustache is about a decade younger than his apparent two chief influences, Jean-Luc Godard and Jacques Rivette, which allows him to lean carelessly back on their achievements just as he can lean carelessly on the Despair so painfully articulated by Camus and others.

This is not to accuse Eustache of mere exploitation—he has ability—it is simply to place him historically. *The Mother and the Whore*, one sees very soon, is a product of what has happened in French film and in Parisian conversation since the mid-1950s. The source of the work is film, not just because there are frequent mentions of pictures and directors but because the characters consciously live like film characters. One of the few utterly false moments occurs early. The hero declares love floridly to a girl, who then asks derisively, "What novel are you being a character in?" Obviously the operative word should have been "film."

Besides, Eustache makes every moment look and feel less like a film of life than like a film of a film. It's almost as if his lens were fixed to the borders of pre-existent pictures. André Bazin said that the real esthetic division in film history is not between silent and sound films but between those directors who believe in image and those who believe in reality. By image Bazin meant "anything that can be added to a depicted object by its being depicted on the screen." Eustache seems superficially to be interested in reality, but he adds to his depicted objects (his people and their lives) his consciousness of the world of film experience that lies behind him and them.

So much is plain very soon. Still one asks what this "imaging" mode is being used *for*. Through the film's three and a half hours *(sic)* the answer finally seeps in.

The Mother and the Whore is Eustache's fourth film, the first one to be released here, and it won the Grand Special Jury Prize at Cannes last year. In blunt yet casual black and white, it fades in on a couple sleeping in a small Paris apartment. Morning. He rises. (It's Jean-Pierre Léaud!—hero of so many Godard and Truffaut films that we start to write the script at once.) He goes to see another young woman. He and Number Two have obviously been lovers, and he wants her back. She declines, thus virtually exiling herself from the film. (Exactly the sensation we get.) He immediately picks up another girl, a nurse, who bears some superficial resemblance to Number Two. The bulk of the film is concerned with a newly formed triangle: the young man, who does no kind of work but is apparently an ex-student; the nurse, who is poor, Polish-born, programmatically promiscuous; and the first (sleeping) woman, who turns out to be about 30, the owner of a boutique and also (since she is played by Bernadette Lafont) of a beautiful body, which we see completely for too few moments.

This triangle is explored in a very leisurely yet sometimes intense manner. The young man likes both women, they both like him, the nurse (Françoise Lebrun) even likes the boutique owner. He sleeps with both of them, often on the same day or night, and the three of them are in bed together on a couple of occasions, though not literally as a trio. Toward the end the nurse has a long drunken tearful soliloquy seated on the other woman's bed, telling the other two that fucking (the term that is used innumerable times in the subtitles) is no good without love. At the very end, we are in the nurse's room; she is off camera throwing up after her drunk while the young man, seated on the floor, watches her. He has just proposed to her and she has presumably accepted.

Now, even if we put aside the inescapable S. J. Perelman overtones of this synopsis, we still have to face the banality of a great deal of this script (by Eustache), epitomized in the soliloquy mentioned above. The banality is of course deliberate. But is that deliberateness a justification? For three and a half hours of boudoir chess and record playings and walks and drives and drinks, heightened only by occasional flashes of drama? (At one moment, for instance, Lafont suddenly swallows a handful of sleeping pills because the other two are busy in her bed. No explanation for this reaction after a good deal of sexual accommodation on her part.) The answer, at last, is yes, and it's an odd justification because one has seen it from the beginning without understanding it.

At first one toys with the idea of symbolism. The young man is young France today, the older woman (mother-mistress) is the intrinsically French past-present, the nurse (French by acculturation, "whore" as protection against feeling), is the possibly altering future. The period, as we are reminded several times, is post '68. Revolution is derided; Sartrean inquiry is derided. The choices for French youth are a (very Gallic) bourgeois life that is withering, or a day-to-day hedonist improvisation that does not want the burden of being called existentialist and has less in it to risk withering.

But that symbolism isn't really earned; it's just an easy amusement during the film's longueurs. Then one really sees what one has been looking at all along, and the perception puts the glib hopelessness of the film in another dimension and gives *The Mother and the Whore* some cultural validity and importance.

Here are all the familiar elements of

(continued on page 35)

Films Worth Seeing

American Graffiti. Cinematic insight transforms banal material—small-town adolescents in the '60s—into a pleasant memorial.

The Exorcist. Well-made shock machine. Very ugly but very scary.

A King in New York. Chaplin's last appearance (1957), never shown here before. Faulty but essential.

The New Land. If you have/have not seen *The Emigrants*, don't miss the second half of this Swedish-American epic. Truly large. SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Restorations—1

The Bird of Night
by Susan Hill

(Saturday Review Press; $5.95)

When Susan Hill's *The Bird of Night* was published in her native England, it won the Whitbread Award for fiction and was one of the finalists for the £5000 Booker Prize. When it appeared here last February, it quickly sank out of sight, the same fate that had greeted earlier novels by this talented young writer. But *The Bird of Night* is such a triumph of the novelist's art that its reception raises very real questions about the state of fiction reviewing in this country.

Why was it ignored, especially in view of its English tributes? Perhaps because of what it is not as much as because of what it is. Although written by a woman, it is not about the indignities suffered by femininity, an unhappy middle-aged woman, a restless young girl, a quest for sexual freedom or the end of an affair. In fact there are no women in it at all. Nor is there any sex. Not even any ruminations on the metaphysical anguish of sex. No descriptions of seedy student lodgings and reporting of endless conversations about ideas around tables littered with cigarette butts, paper cups of cold coffee and slices of pizza. No satire on bourgeois values. No search for the meaning of life, complete with an itinerary of journeys by truck, train and car the length and breadth of the land. No attack on the hypocrisy of our elders or the horrors of our existing institutions. No self-indulgent pages of analysis of barely perceptible interior states of feeling.

In other words *The Bird of Night* lacks all those elements that automatically stamp a new novel as "profound" or "important," and worth noticing. What it has instead are qualities rarely found in contemporary fiction and apparently not much valued, which is a pity. It is a thoroughly *created* piece of work, a novel wrought of language carefully designed to tell a story drawn, not from the surface of the author's life or fragments of her autobiography, but from the heart of the imagination.

And what Susan Hill has imagined is a story of madness, artistic creation and love, given shape and substance through two men, Francis Croft and Harvey Lawson, the only characters in the book. It is Harvey who tells the story, an old man waiting for death in a cottage on the coast of Suffolk, badgered by young men from the newspapers and television stations and by scholars and lovers of poetry who want information about Francis Croft, who has been dead for 30 years and has come to be considered England's greatest contemporary poet.

To Harvey they are vultures come to pick the dead man's bones, to paw through his papers and ferret out the secrets of his tragic life for the sake of a television documentary or a study that will boost a scholarly career. He is determined that this will not happen after he painfully guarded Francis' privacy and integrity during the 20 years they lived together as well as in the long solitary years since. What must be written, he will write.

And so he begins the journey into the past, helped by the few notebooks he has been able to salvage from the bonfire Francis made of his work; the old man remembers himself young again and finds that the years before he met Francis do not count at all.

He was an Egyptologist, one of those mild scholars who haunt the British Museum, seemingly predestined to a quiet bachelor life of the most ordinary dimensions, until he encountered Francis Croft at a weekend house party, walked with him in a dark, silent world of snow, and found himself agreeing to a later luncheon appointment with the odd, haunting poet. When Francis did not show up Harvey went after him and found him in the midst of an attack of strange and terrifying madness. The decision he made to stay and nurse Francis marked the end of his own life and the beginning of the years devoted completely to the poet's care.

It is a true love story but not a homosexual love story; there is no current of sex between the men, only a passion based on the poetry Francis creates and Harvey nurtures. Francis feels for Harvey all that he can for another human, but it is little; he is too occupied with self-preservation to have much emotion left for others. Whether possessed by poetry or madness, he lives enclosed, isolated and terrified, unable to prevent his drive to destruction.

What is remarkable about the book is the convincing portrayal of Francis both as poet and madman. Susan Hill gives us none of the poetry, only journal entries, indications of books read, scraps of worksheets and Harvey's analyses, but it works—with a little exercise of the reader's imagination. Francis Croft exists as a poet. There are memories of the long madness of Hölderlin and of John Clare here, as well as echoes of Rilke in the endless wanderings and long periods of silence between poems, and suggestions of Ezra Pound in the pathos of the mad rages, all of which help to flesh out the bones Susan Hill gives us with the utmost economy and skill, but it is her craft that finally convinces.

She is even more successful in her depiction of madness. Nothing here of any grand romantic notions of artistic frenzy, only a recurrence of terror and pitiful loss of control as Francis is overwhelmed again and again by furies he cannot understand. It is hard to bring a sense of madness over into the world of the sane; Susan Hill does it by refracting Francis' attacks through the mundane vision of Harvey, who combats them armed only with his love and belief in the poetry Francis writes when he is sane and in control.

Not that the poetry springs from the madness; Susan Hill does not vulgarize her conception of the poet by larding her book with psychiatric theories of

Note

With Michele Murray's discussion of Susan Hill's novel, *The Bird of Night*, *TNR* begins a new series of 15 articles. In response to a letter contributors to these pages of fiction criticism have searched their memories for novels in English that have almost entirely escaped either critical or popular notice but have remained in the critics' minds as unforgettable literary experiences. A few of the works are still in print but not for long; most of them have long since been out of print. These "restorative" pieces will appear from time to time with the hope that we can effect some kind of resurrective miracle for the neglected and lost which are at the same time the valuable and significant.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

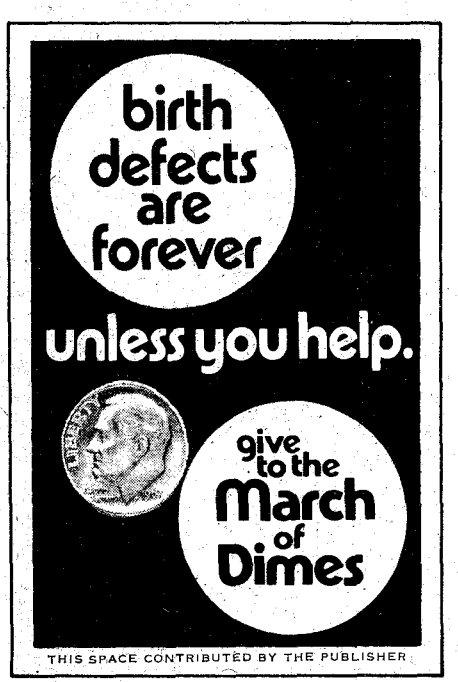
the relationship between creativity and what the ancients called the divine frenzy. Both exist as mysteries, visitations to be endured, two-sided gifts of the imagination not amenable to reductive explanation.

By alternating flashbacks that draw on Harvey's memories and Francis' journal entries with scenes of the old Harvey in his cottage, Susan Hill packs her dense story into less than 200 pages, with ample room for recreating the sea-washed Suffolk estuary, London streets, the Dorset downs and a Venice both golden and sinister. This careful shaping of material to make its effect with the utmost economy, adhered to and practiced by such modern masters as Gide, Woolf, Colette and Pavese, seems to have fallen into abeyance, and it is good to see it once again employed with such great skill.

Although she is only 31, Susan Hill has already written seven novels and a collection of stories, each a deliberate work of the imagination. *Strange Meeting*, the book that preceded *The Bird of Night*, is about two young officers who find brief wholeness in the middle of the hell that is a World War I battlefield; it is also spare, beautifully controlled and original in conception. But *The Bird of Night* is her most remarkable book to date.

Perhaps it is her resolute unfashionableness that keeps Susan Hill from gaining the recognition she deserves. The loss is the reader's. If you care at all for the novel as a work of art, a *creation* rather than an assemblage, hunt up *The Bird of Night* and savor it.

Michele Murray



Turf and Environment

The Use of Land by Rockefeller Brothers Fund Task Force on Land Use and Urban Growth

(Crowell; $10, $3.95 paper)

Opening Up the Suburbs by Anthony Downs

(Yale University Press; $7.95)

Land is increasingly the focus of Americans' anger. Land is turf: the block to keep the PRs off of, the school to keep the blacks out of, the suburb to defend against "downgrading." Land is also environment: the river to keep the power company from heating up, the meadows, marsh or shore to keep the developer away from. In the rising anger and frustrations of American land politics turf and environment are being muddled together, and as these two books reveal, the mixture is not yet a benign coalition of race and class interests which could build a wholesome city and regional environment.

The people who live out where it is still nice are angry, organizing and winning. Some of their victories, like halting the pollution of Lake Tahoe, are battles won for us all; some, like suburban New York's large-lot zoning, are national defeats. The "green panthers," as a ghetto wag dubbed the ecology enthusiasts, have struck back at high-rise apartments with a 40-foot building height limit for most of San Francisco. The county commissioners of Dade County, Florida, formerly as welcoming an outfit as could be found anywhere, have been forced by referenda to accept citizen-initiated building moratoria, and Ramapo, New York, an exurb becoming a suburb, has won its court fight to force developers to conform to the town's deliberate pace for future expansion. Where no government agency directs private construction to the satisfaction of the "new mooders," as the Rockefeller task force calls them, they seek to impose no growth controls upon the local turf. They have erected temporary blockades in Santa Barbara, Albuquerque, and on the Oregon coast, and the no-growth movement is gaining wherever there is scenic land, contented settlements or harassed taxpayers.

The purpose of the task force's *The Use of Land* is to reach out toward this alarmed citizenry to suggest to them, and the public officials with whom they tangle, that a variety of promising reforms exist whereby the goal of high-quality physical settings could be harmonized with continuing urban development and more equitable taxation. The book is indeed a sensible guide to the limitations of current zoning practice, and a readable introduction to the fast-multiplying alternatives for development control.

The task force group of bankers, lawyers, real estate men and academics convened by Laurence Rockefeller started with the incontrovertible observation that as a nation "we have not yet learned to build communities that are environmentally sound and socially open." But to allow local frustration and power to stop growth on a town-by-town basis is socially unfair and economically unsound. The closing up of underdeveloped peripheral metropolitan land raises the cost of housing for the mass of citizens who live in old neighborhoods, and harmfully raises the costs of needed job-generating commercial and industrial expansion.

The task force hopes to resolve the conflict between suburban high standards and strong local political advantage with mass housing and business needs by offering a trade-off: more flexible, discretionary local controls of the details of development to guarantee better quality projects to the locale, in return for state and federal subsidies and supervision of local control to see that the metropolis is kept open for growth. Thus the long list of recommendations of the report moves up the ladder of our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

federal structure from municipal planning boards to HUD and Congress.

The major suggestions are: local zoning bargaining with developers to promote cluster housing so as to conserve open spaces and get high-level public services; state legislation to separate urban development rights from ownership of land so that fee simple title ceases to be a time bomb for scattered construction; state and national purchase of prime recreation spaces like ocean beaches, lake and river shores; state and federal registration of high-quality urban neighborhoods to conserve their existing physical arrangements; federal tax relief and direct subsidies to encourage large-scale, mixed class and race, environmentally sound developments; local tax equalization; state and national legislation to see that recreation land be sold honestly and with adequate sanitary and utility services.

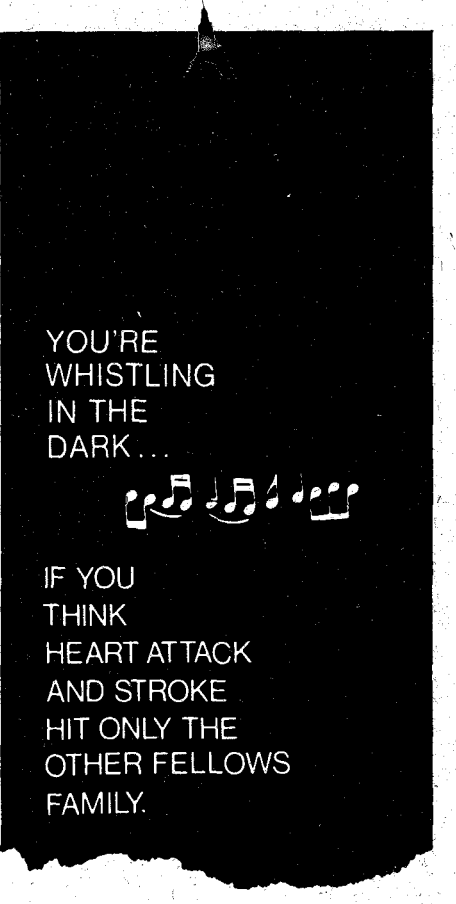
The environmental impact statement, a new and essential supervisory procedure, is recommended by the task force for all levels of government. Developers, whether they be suburban builders appearing before a local planning board, a giant utility requesting a new power plant site of a state authority, or a HUD new town developer, would all be required as a condition of approval to file environmental impact statements which estimated the probable social, economic and environmental outcomes of their proposals. If federal and state legislation requiring such statements were well drafted, these submissions would open to public review the issues that inevitably surround any major decision to build.

The hope of the task force is to break the current imbalance of information power that surrounds American regulatory practice. Currently the insiders, regulators and regulatees, have all the data and the outside citizen has wholly inadequate resources to get the facts he needs to represent his interests. The impact statement device puts the burden of furnishing information on those who want change. (The task force includes a nice procedure of alternative decision-making to prevent endless delay.) If a full estimate of air, water, land-use, job, tax, race and class impact were to be made, then decisions to build could reflect a reasonable balance of local, metropolitan and national needs. Since, as the task force recognizes, there is no consensus in America today as to what constitutes a "quality" development, the case-by-case decisions could at least represent informed, public, political answers as to what was acceptable. Surely the impact statement procedure is a logical next step toward a more equitable and less destructive mode of building a metropolitan nation.

The great weakness of the task force proposals, the question of who will represent the poor and the minorities before the many boards and commissions, is the central concern of Anthony Downs' new book, *Opening Up the Suburbs*. He points out that the combined effects of the private housing market, local planning board decisions, tax policies and federal subsidies have been to increase the degree of segregation of the poor in the inner cities of America. Downs, an economist who makes his living as a consultant to real estate developers, has a wonderfully sure and direct grasp of his subject, and the pleasure of his book lies in his skill in pointing up the Hobson's choices now facing a segregated nation. Essentially our public controls are socially evil, yet to abandon them for an unrestrained private market in housing would increase the power and privilege of the well situated and the well-to-do. Although the walls of segregation could easily be broken down by a generation of public housing, he points out that given their past performance only a dreamer would predict that federal and state governments would undertake such a task.

Downs' pessimism glitters, and his book should be read by anyone who cares about the future of metropolitan America. Moreover the pessimism derives from a decade's frustration of goodwill and good works. For instance Downs was associated with Detroit's Paired New Town Development proposal which called for a staged building of a metropolitan new town followed by an associated inner city urban renewal. The scheme is as promising a one as I have ever seen for giving city residents a choice of integrated or separatist living in decent physical environments. Of course the plan is still only on paper.

This book, originally lectures at Yale, seems consciously designed to shock its audience. Downs perhaps experienced the most trauma. To fight his way out of his data, and to reconcile his pessimism about government action with his faith in the efficacy of the private market, he has been forced to the conclusion that the only solution is to set quotas of low-income housing in

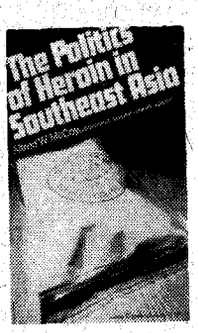


NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

MICHELE MURRAY *is author of the recent* A House of Good Proportion *(Simon & Schuster) and book editor of* The National Observer. SAM BASS WARNER, JR. *is an urban historian and professor of history and social science at Boston University.* LOUIS D. RUBIN, JR. *is professor of English at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and author of, most recently,* The Comic Imagination in American Literature *(Rutgers University Press).* MICHAEL SCHUDSEN *is writing his dissertation in sociology at Harvard.* ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR, *professor of allied health sciences at Fairleigh Dickinson University, is author of the recent* Eve's New Rib *(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).* MELVIN SHEFFTZ *teaches history at the State University of New York, Binghamton.* PETER MEINKE, *poet and critic, teaches English at Eckerd College, Florida.* REGINA BARNES *teaches at Teachers College, New York.* REED WHITTEMORE, *formerly literary editor of* TNR, *is professor of English at the University of Maryland and now at work on a biography of William Carlos Williams.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A HARPER PAPERBACK



THE POLITICS OF HEROIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Alfred W. McCoy

With Cathleen B. Read and Leonard P. Adams, II. "A fascinating, often meticulous unraveling of the byzantine complexities of the Southeast Asian opium and heroin trade. . . . [A] pioneering book."—James M. Markham, *N.Y. Times Book Review*

CN/328 $2.95

For a complete catalog, write
Harper & Row
Paperback Dept.
10 E. 53d St., New York 10022

every political unit of the metropolis. These low-income areas are to be filled with cheap lowered-standard housing, so that poor families could afford to live in what the private market could afford to build them.

As an urban historian who has followed the wasteful history of capital expenditures on substandard housing I am worried about both the economic wisdom and the social stigma of allowing substandard housing to be built for poor families. Yet at a time when about a fifth of all new housing starts are mobile homes, it seems to me that Downs' suggestion should be tested by a monitored federal experiment in the same manner as the income maintenance tests.

The town-by-town quotas are, however, at least as politically explosive as public housing. The quotas are in fact the second part of a two-step strategy for aiding the poor. They are the housing elements that are to follow an active income maintenance and full employment policy of the federal government. My guess is that, as a battered real estate economist, Downs has underestimated the fluidity of American society, and that substantial improvements in family incomes effectively increase both private housing options and political clout. The minor part of his book, the incomes part, thus seems to offer the most likely solution to his major concern with class and racial segregation.

The significance of Downs' book is its understanding that if the constituents of the Welfare Rights Organization and the NAACP and such groups are not explicitly represented both in the subject matter and in legal standing in the environmental impact hearings of the task force reforms, the new era of better environmental development will probably be more apartheid than the current mess. Perhaps my hopeful jobs- and income-oriented partial reconciliation of the disparate concerns of the two books is mistaken optimism. In any case if one reads the two books together one confronts the major issues swirling about urban land politics today. To the extent that any reader can reconcile the promise of the task force with the obdurate problems of *Opening Up the Suburbs*, he has glimpsed the makings of political coalitions that could end the present socially and environmentally destructive modes of American city building.

Sam Bass Warner, Jr.

Dissenting Views

The Other South
by Carl N. Degler

(Harper & Row; $10)

Carl Degler warns us from the start that his study of political and social dissent in the 19th-century South is a book about an assortment of losers. The Southern dissent on slavery, disunion, reconstruction and white supremacy did not bring about any lasting hindrance to majority policy along these lines. It cannot even be said that the ultimate vindication of dissenting views was due very much to the dissenters' having set them forth, so much as to the fact that the views themselves proved ultimately viable. Degler's other South, therefore, was composed of prophets who were not only without honor, but without much ultimate impact.

Yet there was important dissent in the antebellum South over human slavery, and a strong anti-secession, pro-Union element. The latter in particular was much more widespread and enduring than is generally believed. It is well known that during the Civil War thousands of black men in the occupied areas of the South were enlisted in the Union army. But Degler points out that in four of the states of the South, the number of white men who served in the Union army actually outnumbered the number of blacks. Tennessee alone furnished more than 31,000 white troops, making up 51 regiments in all. Similarly during the Reconstruction era it was native white Southerners, not blacks and carpetbaggers, who held the preponderance of political offices in the federally imposed governments. In general it was white Southerners who dominated radical Reconstruction.

Degler's intent is to explore who the Southern dissenters were, on what grounds their opposition was based, and why they failed. He examines them as individuals, in groups, demonstrates a rather surprising pattern of continuity to their dissent, and indicates the limitations upon their effectiveness. It is not exactly a pretty story. The role of the opposition in the South has usually involved, whether directly or indirectly, dissent on race relations, and this was the barrier reef on which the protest most often broke up. Nothing could be more appropriate than the comparison that Tom Watson of Georgia made in 1910, contrasting his political handicaps with those of William Jennings Bryan: "Consider the advantage of position Bryan had over me. His field of work was the plastic, restless, and growing West; mine was the hide-bound, rock-ribbed, Bourbon South. Besides Bryan had *no everlasting and overshadowing Negro question to hamper and handicap his progress:* I HAD." By 1910 Watson was well on his way to becoming a prime Negro-baiter in his own right; like many other Southerners who had tried to promulgate class and economic interests over those of race, and who had his economic cause wrecked by so doing, he later turned upon the helpless instrument of that defeat, the blacks, with disappointed and frustrated fury.

Degler cites Watson's pronouncement of his rural constituency: "In the long run, self-interest always controls." Let the black man and the white man recognize, said Watson, that it is in the self-interest of each to vote together,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and each will do so. But as Degler indicates, by self-interest Watson meant economic interests, while Southern poor whites had another kind of self-interest: "lacking such interests as class, the poor white farmers had no way of keeping blacks at a disadvantage except by appeals to racial differences. . . What they feared, in short, was not that a civil rights law would compel them to associate with blacks, but that the removal of a sense of racial difference would leave them without standing in a society in which standing was important." Thus the Democratic Party was enabled to savage the Populist movement on racial grounds, and destroy it utterly.

Writing in the 1970s Degler is not so inclined as historians of a decade or so ago might have been to view the course of Southern political and social history as principally economic in nature. Certainly he does not disregard such concerns, but he cites numerous examples that discount any kind of rigid economic interpretation of why white Southerners have behaved as they have. He thus comes closer than most commentators to dealing with the continued existence of what I tend to suspect may be the most pervasive of all elements in Southern history: a sense of community identity.

This is a complex subject, and there is not space to go into it here. But Degler reports that, for example, much anti-slavery sentiment in the old South went along with a strong dislike for the overwhelmingly agricultural character of the region, and that a dissenter on slavery and disunion such as Goodloe of North Carolina also held a strong "preference for an urban culture—the kind of society that the majority of Southerners of the nineteenth century rejected." Here he is getting close to the problem. Much of the dissent he so ably records, and much of the explanation both of its limited nature and of its failure, seem bound in with the existence of such an identity. The pervasive liveliness of that community identity is not without present-day significance. What it means and has meant is well worth the continuing inquiry of good historians, and Degler's accomplished and interesting study of Southern dissent will provide them with many valuable clues, hints, cautions and insights.

The Other South is dedicated to "the memory of Lyndon B. Johnson, the most effective and courageous President from The Other South." Amen!

Louis D. Rubin, Jr.

Family Stages

The Symmetrical Family by Michael Young and Peter Willmott

(Pantheon Books; $10)

Sixteen years ago British sociologists Michael Young and Peter Willmott collaborated on a study of working-class families in London. They interviewed residents of Bethnal Green and compared them to Bethnal Greeners who had moved out to a suburban housing development. Their *Family and Kinship in East London* (Penguin Books, 1957) has become a sociological classic.

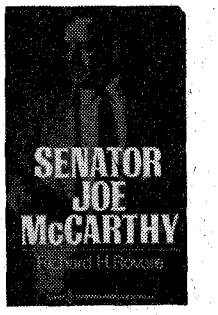
In *The Symmetrical Family* they have joined again to write, in the same spare, appealing prose, a work of more ambitious scope, with less success but nonetheless a provocative commentary on the modern family. The book grows out of a huge survey of nearly 2000 people in the London metropolitan area. The information gathered, dealing primarily with the work and leisure of married men and women, is reported in 55 easy-to-follow tables and in illustrative anecdotes and details of the individual respondents' lives.

Though the bulk of the book reports ordinary sociological research, the argument of the volume is historical. Indeed Young and Willmott view their survey itself as a historical document, and the IBM cards that store the results are as susceptible to historical interpretation as yellowed newspapers or diaries. Relying on British social historians, they describe three stages in the history of the family. First, the agrarian society, in which the family was the unit of production; husband, wife and children shared the tasks of making a living in house and field. This Stage 1 collective was undermined with the coming of industry. The Stage 2 family, the cruel family we know from Engels, Mayhew or Dickens, was a crumbling institution, losing its economic function to industry and its educational function to schools. But by the early 20th century, first in the middle class and then more widely, Stage 3 restored the integrity of the family, this time as a unit of consumption rather than production.

The Stage 3 family is home-centered. Where the Stage 2 husband kept his earnings secret from his wife and spent his time and money at the pub, the important expenditures of the Stage 3 family are durable household goods for family use. In Stage 3, technology helps the private and home-centered to replace the collective in transportation (the car), entertainment (TV and radio) and domestic chores (washers).

The Stage 3 family also abandons the extended kinship network. The extended family, the authors contend, was an invention of Stage 2 working-class women who used the support of their mothers to defend themselves and their children against unreliable husbands. They formed an "informal women's trade union." But the Stage 3 family lops off the generation of grandparents and focuses on husband, wife and children. In this setting the roles of husband and wife grow less segregated, more "symmetrical." For instance Stage 3 married women are more often in the labor force. Only 10 percent of married women were in paid employment in Britain in 1911, 26 percent in 1951 and 42 percent in 1971 (American figures are comparable). Husbands correspondingly spend more time with their families and do more work around the

A HARPER PAPERBACK



SENATOR JOE McCARTHY
Richard H. Rovere

"The definitive job, and I can't imagine what else there is to say about him."—Walter Lippmann

"A brilliant essay in contemporary history, overflowing with wit and perception, and informed by an astute understanding of American politics . . . a memorable book."
—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

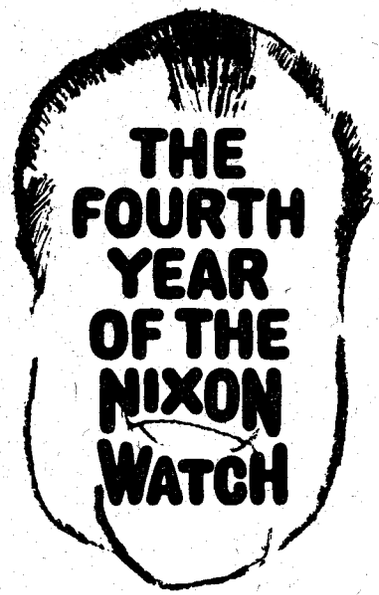
CN/345 $2.95

For a complete catalog, write
Harper & Row
Paperback Dept.
10 E. 53d St., New York 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOHN OSBORNE

"One of the most informative, fair-minded, fact-laden narratives of the administration," the *Washington Post* has said of John Osborne's *Nixon Watch* columns in *The New Republic*.



Osborne's wry, sagacious, and always judicious reporting has won him the admiration of his journalistic peers. "The most perceptive account we have," says *Newsweek*.

This FOURTH YEAR OF THE NIXON WATCH covers the fateful reelection year, the "non-campaign," the Paris peace talks and Kissinger, and the trips to Russia and China on which Osborne went along as a member of the press party.

"Instant history . . . is always a gamble. . . . That so many of Osborne's judgments do stand up is a large tribute, and it adds weight to some of his earlier perceptions which have now taken on added significance."—*The Washington Monthly*.

Illustrated with cartoons by Pulitzer Prize winner Paul Conrad of the *Los Angeles Times*.

$6.95
At bookstores or from
Liveright
386 Park Avenue South
New York 10016

THE NEW REPUBLIC

☐ A Year of The New Republic, $15
☐ Two Years of The New Republic, $27
ADDITIONAL POSTAGE—Outside USA—$3

My Check for $_____ is enclosed.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

If Gift, card to read from _____

381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302 2/16/4

house, including child care and regular cleaning chores.

While the middle class arrived at Stage 3 first, Young and Willmott suggest that the working class is more or less at Stage 3 now. Meanwhile the middle class is beginning to blaze a Stage 4 trail where more involving paid employment for both husband and wife vies for the attention and devotions that in Stage 3 are securely held by home and family. Stage 4 will also spread to the working class, the authors believe, just as the home-centered, symmetrical family has slid down the class hierarchy. This is explained by what the authors call the Principle of Stratified Diffusion, or simply, the Principle: that in a world where ideas of democracy have freed people's aspirations and the products of industry have satisfied some of them, what the few have today the many will want and get tomorrow. Take the emphasis on household goods in the symmetrical family: a larger fraction of working-class British families had refrigerators and TV sets in 1967 than did professional and managerial families in 1956.

Young and Willmott picture the Principle as a "slow march" of people toward more goods and services. What keeps the column moving is that industrial productivity keeps those at the head of the column advancing. What keeps the column moving *together* is that those at the rear are imbued with democratic ideals, enfolded in a common culture, and propelled by emulation, their eyes not on the prize but on the distance between themselves and the rank ahead.

This avowedly Tocquevillian thesis makes *The Symmetrical Family* especially challenging to those who fancy the passion for material goods to be uniquely American. American sociologist Lee Rainwater is probably thinking of this thesis when he calls the book, in its preface, an exploration of the "sociology and social psychology of materialism," an apt phrase for what the book might have been if it had examined rather than postulated the "Principle." The quest of modern families for the material possessions of middle-class life poses a question; it does not reflect a law of human nature or a principle of human societies. Despite the prominence the authors give to the military metaphor of the column on the slow march, they fail to explore it for evidence of the authority that keeps people in line—advertising that manufactures new needs for the back

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

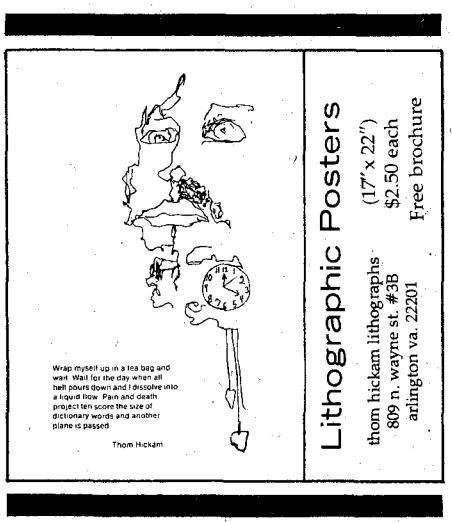
of the column while advancing the front, government-financed housing and housing markets that reward families willing to enter Stage 3 while helping to make the extended family an endangered species, and the often brutal pull of media, schools, government and industry toward "a common stock" of aspirations. By nature people walk; they do not naturally march in columns.

Whatever works the Principle, the Principle does not always work, as the authors admit. If the Principle were strictly applied, fewer women would work in the future since at present the higher the class of the family the less likely the wife is to be working. But they abandon the Principle here (and elsewhere when it suits them) and predict that more women will work because higher education levels will lead them to higher hopes.

The efforts of Young and Willmott to broaden the sociological study of the family are admirable, and whatever the omissions of the book, they deserve credit for introducing some historical evidence and for concentrating on the relation of work and family. A real contribution is their attention to part-time work for women, which they cite as a major influence in enhancing marital symmetry.

But I miss the sure touch of family and kinship in their earlier work when they were nearer to the people they wrote about. There, Young and Willmott related materialism to social structure and showed its connections to the tensions of a class society. These were the makings of not only a social psychology of materialism but also of its political economy, the beginnings of a position more complex than their present one and much more critical of those in command of the column.

Michael Schudson


Wrap myself up in a tea bag and wait. Wait for the day when all hell pours down and I dissolve into a liquid flow. Pain and death project ten score the size of dictionary words and another plane is passed
Thom Hickam
Lithographic Posters
(17"x 22")
$2.50 each
Free brochure
thom hickam lithographs
809 n. wayne st. #3B
arlington va. 22201

A New Era

The Tyranny of Survival by Daniel Callahan

(Macmillan; $6.95)

Reviewing anything Daniel Callahan writes is a challenging and rewarding task. Reviewing *The Tyranny of Survival* poses the additional challenge of dealing with two seemingly distinct books under one cover.

In the "first book," Callahan comes through as a near-total pessimistic philosopher. Enjoying his unpopular, self-chosen role as anti-prophet, he determinedly slices away one myth after another which have given "false" comfort and hope to unsuspecting victims caught in the web of unlimited technology, the compulsion to survive at all costs, and the tyranny of individualism. Drawing heavily for both its ideas and style on Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* and on Philip Reiff's *The Triumph of the Therapeutic*, Callahan offers here an invaluable critique of both thinkers and their interpretations of the ineluctable conflicts between the naturally technological animal we call man and his culture-society.

In this analysis Callahan offers an original and trenchant catalogue/classification/analysis of kinds of technologies. "Preservation technologies," he suggests, may be *adaptive* (farming and hunting tools, fertilizers, space suits and automobiles), *protective* like spears, antibiotics, pesticides and housing technologies, *corrective* like vitamins, eyeglasses and prosthetics, or *investigative* like telescopes, x-rays and EKGs. His "improvement technologies" include the *decorative* cosmetics, plastic surgery and paints, the *esthetic* stereo FM and records, and *enhancing* technologies of psychotrophic drugs, genetic engineering, space travel and electrical stimulation of the brain.

"Destructive technologies" he divides into those we use to manipulate and control others' behavior and those we use to annihilate any form of life. "Implementation technologies" can work as our computers, typewriters and telephones do, or enhance our economic growth as do planned obsolescence, advertising and consumerism. "Compensatory technologies" can soften the psychological impact of our other technologies—tranquilizers, Muzak and technologically assisted vacations—or the physical impact—sewage treatment plants and reprocessing technologies. The classification is far from perfect, as Callahan readily admits, but it is extremely useful in any sophisticated exploration of technology and its consequences, especially our need for ethical appraisals and decisions on values, goals, limitations and expectations.

Callahan raises a number of important distinctions, but his pessimism is almost overwhelming, pessimism not softened by his style which is both turgid and turpid. Too often I found myself groping through words and sentences to find his meaning, often distracted by hyphen-inserted clauses meant to clarify but in effect disconcerting. Even allowing for my optimism, I found this first "book" heavy plowing.

How delightful then to find a more congenial Callahan in the second "book." (The tone and style change completely, communications improve vastly. His sentence structure shifts dramatically in favor of comprehension and clarity. Perhaps this issue of style is unfair but the most original insight is worthless unless it can be communicated. Writing must be both seduction and communion. (Callahan deals with our need for a new ethics, and the new cultural set of values, attitudes and expectations that new ethic supposes, in a way that is seminal but far from question-answering, which would be

in time of stress

to survive the impact of cancer and to maintain stability

Cancer Care, Inc. helps patients with advanced cancer at home—and their families—within a 50-mile radius of New York City

Please send contributions to

CANCER CARE, INC.
The National Cancer Foundation
One Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

premature at the moment. Building a fresh ethic to control and direct our technology, Callahan maintains rightly, demands that we build a new culture, based on the articulation of publicly accepted moral values and goals. Three issues are of overriding importance: the nature of man, what he is and what he can become; the extent to which nature (human and nonhuman) can and should be manipulated and controlled; and the relationship between public and private morality, law and ethics. Callahan examines brilliantly the two central issues of our biomedical technology: population control and the genetic quality of human life.

The end result is "not the kind [of ethic] that can easily be developed into a system or even fully articulated; it is meant to make us feel guilty and to hesitate." The new ethic Callahan urges us to develop must be based on an acceptance of a science of technological limits. It also must take into consideration, and resolve, the realities posed by the tyranny of excessive individualism.

A new culture, a new set of public and private values, and the practicalities of a humanely limited technology may not be acceptable to many today. We may never accept them. But if we don't, our future will be either extinction as a species, or worse, a less than humane survival. If we do accept the challenge, we can be thankful Callahan has set a few important road markers straight.

Robert T. Francoeur

Democratic Socialist

Aneurin Bevan, 1945-1960 by Michael Foot

(Atheneum; $13.95)

Aneurin Bevan was never Prime Minister, nor even leader of his party. He held government office for less than six years. His tangible achievements would not justify two volumes and over 1100 pages of biography. But Bevan was much more important than the offices he held. "He was," Michael Foot tells us in the concluding paragraph of this biography, "the man who did more than any other of his age to keep alive the idea of democratic Socialism." Bevan, the son of a Welsh coal miner, went into the coal mines himself at the age of 14. He entered the House of Commons in 1929 at 32, and soon became an orator and parliamentary debater, fully the equal of Churchill. Throughout his political career, he fought to convert the British Labor Party into something it never fully became, a Socialist Party, seriously committed to conquering for the community "the commanding heights of the economy."

Michael Foot is as right for the role of Bevan's biographer as Boswell was for Johnson. He is an able journalist who now sits as a Labor M.P. for Bevan's old Welsh constituency, Ebbw Vale. Foot writes as a friend and former political follower. He tells us in volume one that after meeting Bevan for the first time in 1933, "I knew him as well as almost anybody else for the rest of his life. He was never a hero-worshipper; but I was." Biographies written by hero-worshippers are usually more embarrassing than convincing. Foot, however, is too intelligent and too critical to produce a volume of gushing praise. His Bevan, heroic but also sometimes flawed, comes alive as few historical figures ever do. As custodian of the Bevanite tradition within the Labor Party, Foot can re-fight Bevan's old campaigns with convincing vigor because he is still fighting them today. Of course, he does not do justice to Bevan's opponents, some of them men of stature and principle; other books will speak for them. But few works are likely to replace this biography as the story of several years of principled political controversy as viewed from the left side of the battlefield.

Bevan received only one opportunity to carry out the Socialist doctrines he so eloquently preached. In 1945 he became Minister of Health and Housing in the newly elected Labor government. He did not receive adequate money for the large program of public housing he advocated. He did, however, receive the money to build a National Health Service which still stands as the greatest achievement of Labor's most successful government. So popular has the Health Service been, that Conservatives have sometimes claimed partial credit for it, arguing that the program really began with the plans of the wartime coalition government. Foot devotes 117 pages to show that this was not so. A Conservative government would probably have passed a medical bill, but only for a limited program shaped by the interests of private hospitals, insurance companies and the sometimes rapacious British Medical Association. The National Health Service, which Bevan created and implemented against the strident opposition of the Conservatives and the threat of boycott by the doctors, brought municipal and most private hospitals into one unified system and provided free of charge both direct and ancillary medical services and drugs. The money came not from regressive payroll taxes but from general revenue. The service began operation in July 1948 and soon included 97 percent of the population and most of the doctors;

The Sharing of Land and Resources In America

Peter Barnes' six-part series on the distribution of land and wealth in America is now available as a 64-page booklet. Price [including postage and handling]:

1-10—$1.00 per copy
11-50—90 cents
over 50—75 cents

Address orders to
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
prepaid orders only
D. C. residents add 5% tax

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bevan had created a comprehensive and almost classless medical system in a society still predominantly capitalist. It was a triumph of Socialist principle and practical administration.

By 1951 Bevan felt himself isolated in a cabinet that had moved to the right. Many ministers believed that the program of nationalization which had brought under state control coal, gas, electricity, airlines, railways, trucking and finally steel had gone far enough. Moreover the government, under heavy American pressure, adopted a three-year defense program which more than doubled previous defense estimates. Finally Hugh Gaitskill, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, insisted on imposing charges on dentures and spectacles. In March 1951 Bevan, along with two colleagues, John Freeman and Harold Wilson, resigned, protesting both the health charges and the increased defense budget. The resignation initiated a civil war within the Labor Party which raged unabated until 1956 and then subsided into a precarious, distrustful truce. Bevan fought unrelentingly for a commitment to further nationalization of industry. The outcome was uncertain then and remains so now. He pleaded for détente with Russia and China and was labeled a lover of communism and hater of America. The Labor Party lost three successive elections in 1951, 1955 and 1959. The "moderates" blamed the Bevanites for having frightened the voters into voting Tory.

By 1959 Bevan was deputy leader of the party and shadow Foreign Minister. His position in the party was probably stronger than it had ever been before, but he distrusted Hugh Gaitskill, now the leader of the party, as an advocate of a reformed capitalism, and he feared that another party schism was in the making. He was also deeply hurt by a disagreement with some of his closest political friends on the question of unilateral nuclear disarmament. This policy was not statesmanship, he told the Party Conference in 1957, but "an emotional spasm." It would not abolish the bomb; it would only send a British foreign minister "naked into the conference room." Michael Foot himself was one of the leaders of the nuclear disarmament movement and one of the many who were surprised and unhappy to find that Bevan this time was not with them. Foot still believes that Bevan was wrong, but he does justice to his arguments and to his sincerity in a moving chapter which must have been very difficult to write. Bevan's career was marked by more failures than triumphs, but he provided qualities essential to the vitality of democratic politics—drama and high purpose. When he died of cancer in 1960 at the age of 63, even those who had opposed him felt that British politics was now diminished. Readers of this biography will understand why.

Melvin Shefftz

Visionary Notions

The Community Market Cooperative Catalog

(Knopf; $2.45)

Hippies, one recalls, were the rage of 1967 when at least some young people were growing hair, quitting school and jobs, living communally and extolling flower power. My memory of what flower power was is beginning to fade. I believe the flower involved was *cannabis indica* and its philosophical correlate was the disowning of ambition, acquisitiveness, machismo and the profit motive. Hippies, the term anyway, are out of fashion even if hair, marijuana and unemployment are still with us. The communes in which some of the '60s hippies lived, or new and similar social units, also have persisted into this decade. And there continues to be a serious and geographically widespread, but rather quiet and small, commune movement even as there had been well before the flower children affected their new life-style—groups of people attempting to live democratically together, working at crafts or other marketable labor to earn money for the common bank account. This money is not profit but the means of subsistence for the group, each member of which receives enough to live simply on (each according to his needs) but generally not enough to buy a big house and a fast car. There aren't any bosses deriving substantial income skimmed from the labor of employees. The objective is to live a decent life, sharing experiences and authority and disdaining the exploitation of anybody. Often the communes don't survive.

The Community Market Cooperative Catalog, subtitled *Homemade goods from the nonprofit communes and collectives of America*, is Knopf's attempt to make a profit while helping the communities, communes, collectives and cooperatives whose services and merchandise it lists make a success of their undertakings, acquainting consumers with the range of wares and the supposedly contagious philosophy of the movement. The editors of this attractive catalog view the movement as subversive of capitalism and hope it will spread, which is probably a visionary notion given that, to quote *The Washington Post* (on a US Senate report), "most of the nation's largest corporations appear to be dominated or controlled by eight institutions including six banks," and corporations are swallowing up farms and engulfing small businesses and turning out uniform, plasticized products made mainly by machines manned, if that is the word, by automatons. One needn't dwell on whether contagion is probable or on whether America will be greened in order to enjoy the catalog and the comfy, warm yearnings for a simpler handcrafted life that it inspires.

Community Market stirs up in me nostalgia for experiences I have never had and might not enjoy. Some of the communes described involve small groups of people intimately related and conspiring to achieve self-sufficiency. They build (or renovate) their own house, make their own clothes, raise crops (and in one case make flour mills to grind their own wheat to make their own bread). They have goats for milk, chickens for eggs, and need to resort very little to the outside world for goods and services. It's an ideal life if one enjoys the work and doesn't mind spending all his time at it, because that's what it takes. The rewards include the closeness one feels to one's home and companions and furnishings and food, and the luxury of not having to work for a corporation.

The groups represented in this book, it should be said, vary markedly in organization, living arrangements and decision-making. Some have a religious basis, some involve older folk or retarded people not just idealistic youths, some are basically anti-poverty efforts begun when OEO had chic (particularly those co-ops in Appalachia), and quite a few are involved in providing services, publishing, ecology and free

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schooling.

At the lowest level the handbook is a source of information about where to get nice things cheap—say, a handmade quilt for 30 bucks—and nice things expensive—like a walnut ladderback chair with handwoven hickory-bark seat for $119, and scores of other handmade stuff ranging from hammocks and bicycles to maple syrup, photographic equipment, sleeping bags, camp stoves, dashikis, noncompetitive games, suede purses, rag dolls and so on—all of it beautifully made judging from the illustrations.

What appeals to me most is the attempt of the groups surveyed to revive handwork, and in doing so, meaningful employment for the worker. It's a rearguard but deserving effort in an age in which fewer people know how to do anything with their hands and things that break down can't be fixed. To the extent that a renaissance of crafts exists it's a reaction to the shoddiness of manufactured goods and to the tedium of factory work. Swedish car manufacturers are experimenting with new ways to build automobiles using small groups of workers who together build a car almost from scratch. It's less monotonous and degrading than the one man-one bolt approach employed by Detroit. And many Americans in and out of communes are discovering the pleasures of feeling responsible for what is made by their own hand. For most of the new craftsmen this sort of work has to remain its own reward, a sparetime noncommercial activity, since the woman at her loom can't compete with the speed, volume and economy of a Burlington behemoth.

One can hardly hope to make a substantial living doing handwork since it is slow and the cost of labor tends to make the product prohibitively expensive. The hand-wrought item nevertheless is generally preferable to those of the age of plastic mass production that has conditioned several generations to appreciate Formica, uniformity and junkiness. One of the few good things that can be said of the energy crisis, by the way, is that ingenious alternatives may have to be found for goods made from petroleum-derived plastics and synthetic fabrics. Imagine furniture of wood and clothing of cotton and wool, and some of it handmade. That might not be good for Monsanto but for the rest of us I think it would represent an advance.

David Sanford

Polar Opposites

Selected Poems 1957-1967 by Ted Hughes

(Harper & Row; $7.95)

Trilogy by H. D.

(New Directions; $6.95 cloth, $2.95 paper)

If you're one of those people (I am) who think that Ted Hughes' *Crow* (1971) was the best book of poems by an English poet in many years, this new book—*Selected Poems 1957-1967*—will show you how he got there. Taken from his three previous books, *The Hawk in the Rain* (1957), *Lupercal* (1960) and *Wodwo* (1967), these poems march steadily into the darkness behind the darkness until they reach Crow's monstrous and monster-filled world.

In America (maybe England too) Hughes is more famous than read, mainly for being Sylvia Plath's husband, and for being attacked in Robin Morgan's *Monster* book as Plath's murderer and stealer of her imagery. There *are* some similarities, particularly in the *Wodwo* poems. Here's an excerpt from "Out" whose obsessive repetition and macabre humor reminds one of Plath's "Daddy":

The lulling of blood in
Their ears, their ears, their ears,
their eyes
Are only drops of water and even
the dead man suddenly
Sits up and sneezes—Atishoo!

But who's to say, with a husband and wife, who influences whom, and does it matter anyway? At any rate, the books before *Wodwo* and the one after (*Crow*) don't sound like Plath at all, despite sharing similar bleak visions.

To read Hughes is to be surrounded by cold and maniacal eyes and jaws. And stones. His cold landscape is jammed with giant crabs, horses, apes, jaguars, whales, dinosaurs, moles, bulls, hawks. As his poems evolve it becomes clear that it is not these beasts' dignity or grace or even fierceness that grips him but their bloodlust, and their pleasure in bloodlust. In "Hawk Roosting":

I kill where I please because it is
all mine.
There is no sophistry in my body:
My manners are tearing off heads—
. . . I am going to keep things
like this.

Very different from Robinson Jeffers' "Hurst Hawks" or James Dickey's "The Heaven of Animals." The leap Hughes makes in *Crow* is to make this animal violence an intricately worked-out metaphor for man's totality: his civilization, his psychology, his myths and his ultimate "meaning."

Hughes has had from the beginning what James Wright, speaking of Richard Hugo, calls "an abiding vision," in Hughes' case a dark Blakean vision of a violent wilderness. But where Blake saw an angel in a tree Hughes has seen —what?—a dark hole? Perhaps it's closer to what Roquentin saw in Sartre's *Nausea*, when he picked up the stone, except that Hughes' stone has blood in it. In his/our world "the insects couple as they murder each other."

Hughes' style changed through the years: he began as a skilled rhymer with precise metrics, working toward carefully modulated off-rhymes. Note "October Dawn":

Soon plate and rivet on pond and
brook;
Then tons of chain and massive lock
To hold rivers. Then, sound by
sight
Will Mammoth and Sabre-tooth
celebrate
Reunion while a fist of cold
Squeezes the fire at the core of
the world . . .

Gradually the style became looser and more dynamic, idiosyncratic and unpredictable, the style of *Crow*.

Perhaps another word should be said. Is Hughes' vision of a world of total emptiness, almost untouched by love, family, friendship or faith, where even thrushes are "terrifying," even stars "ferocious"—a valid one, or "unjust," as Richard Wilbur has written about Plath's poems? As a description of his own inner landscape, which we all touch on somewhere, Hughes' poems are completely compelling; but as a description of reality they suffer from "tunnel vision," even in *Crow* where he pushes past despair into something like defiance. After all, even *King Lear* has *some* bright spots.

Some of his finest poems, like "The Hawk in the Rain," are left out of this collection, perhaps because they show too strongly (and somewhat ironically,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

considering their world-views) a major influence on Hughes, Gerard Manley Hopkins. But many wonderful poems are included: "The Jaguar," "Famous Poet," "An Otter," "Scapegoats and Rabies," "Wodwo," etc. A very rich selection, handsomely printed, with six scary drawings by Leonard Baskin, a rare joining of similar style by artist and poet.

I wish I could say that *Trilogy* by H. D. (Hilda Doolittle, 1884-1961) was an effective antidote to Hughes' book, but I can't, though they are almost polar opposites. First published in 1944-45-46 in separate volumes, it is really one long poem in three sections, a working out of H. D.'s mystical and optimistic religious vision in the face of World War II and Freudian psychology (in 1933-34 she underwent psychoanalysis under Freud, she seeking her "immortal destiny," he trying to convince her it was an illusion brought on by anxiety).

H. D., of course, is best known as one of the prime movers of the influential "imagist" movement of 1916-17, along with Ezra Pound and her husband, Richard Aldington. *Trilogy* has many sections of delicate craftsmanship, where the imagist virtues of clarity, concentration and flexibility shine forth:

Still the walls do not fall,
I do not know why;
there is zrr-hiss
lightning in a not-known,
unregistered dimension;
we are powerless,
dust and powder fill our lungs
our bodies blunder
through doors twisted on hinges,
and the lintels slant
crosswise; . . .

An occasional section, particularly one on blue gentians, reminds one of D. H. Lawrence, and that he too began as an imagist, and of how far he went past that stage. H. D.'s strength, on the other hand, seems muted by the long and ambitious poem. Her mysticism seems real (she too saw an angel in a tree), her passion earnest, and yet the effect is often soporific, like a good but overly long lecture.

Trilogy is religious poetry without Yeats' "odour of blood." Written in free-verse couplets, the *vers* no longer seems very *libre*, but that's not the problem. The main problem is that there is little drama, little tension. The "essential harmony of all religions" and the compatibility of war with a good God are pretty much just given to us, not imaginatively rendered. From the first section, "The Walls Do Not Fall," to the last, "The Flowering of the Rod," there is a steady tone with few surprises, though many quietly fine passages please both ear and eye, as in this excerpt from "Tribute to the Angels" (the middle section):

Blue-geese, white-geese, you may say,
yes, I know this duality, this double nostalgia;
I know the insatiable longing
in winter, for palm-shadow
and sand and burnt sea-drift;
but in the summer, as I watch
the wave till its edge of foam
touches the hot sand and instantly
vanishes like snow on the equator,
I would cry out, stay, stay;
then I remember delicate enduring frost
and its mid-winter dawn pattern; . . .

Perhaps if I hadn't read *Trilogy* and Hughes' *Selected Poems* at the same time, *Trilogy* wouldn't have seemed so pale. As Milton showed long ago, Satan's far more interesting than God.

Peter Meinke

Heart of a Man

The River Gets Wider
by R. L. Gordon

(Crowell; $6.95)

The River Gets Wider is an artfully told tale in the style of John Marquand or Louis Auchincloss. The author nets the reader's interest in the first chapter by revealing that he was the defense attorney at the trial of John Andrew, an extraordinary and controversial man. The book, he states, is intended as a memoir of this eminent person who had risen to the position of Chief Justice in the Canadian government after a distinguished legal career. But this opening niggles the reader: What crime, if any, could such a distinguished person have committed which reversed his role from judge to defendant?

Gordon does not hasten to answer this question. Indeed it is only at the end of the story that one is presented with the facts of the disputed crime and its aftermath. The consequence is prolonged and pleasant curiosity: so skillfully is his extraordinary but recognizable protagonist portrayed that the reader willingly reviews the unfolding details for confirmation or rejection of his emerging suspicions.

The entire book is recounted through the conventional flashback. There are letters from family members, friends, associates, servants of the heroic John Andrews, which trace his life from boyhood to fame, excerpts from the trial itself, and straight narration. A portrait emerges of a brilliant man, gallant soldier, loving husband, devoted father, unequaled politician and acclaimed jurist. But slight incidents are included that jar the reader's pliant acceptance of such benignity. Was John Andrews actually a genuine hero or a successful charlatan? Had he really performed acts of unusual courage, loved his rich and beautiful wife, incorruptibly risen to his high government position?

The author has so gradually created his protagonist that even the experienced reader will find himself straddling judgment and awaiting eagerly the exposure that will reveal the heart of the man and matter. He will appreciate also that although *The River Gets Wider* reads like a novel of social manners, it is actually a suspense story told cleverly.

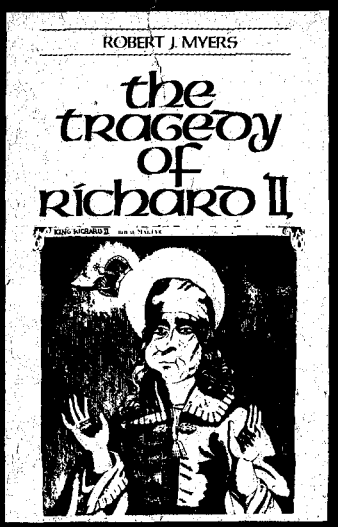
This is Mr. Gordon's first major work. It promises well for readers who prefer the mystery of civilized criminality and gloved prose. It is a sophisticated enigma.

Regina Barnes

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



An outrageous fabrication of the War of the Rose Garden. My attorneys, along with those of Mr. Shakespeare, will see you in court.

—Victor Gold, *Former Press Secretary to Vice President Agnew*

Something had to come out of Watergate that I could enjoy and "The Tragedy of Richard II" is it."

—John Osborne, *Noted Nixon Watcher*

Pep up your outlook with *The Tragedy of Richard II.* Paradoxical? Maybe. This satire on the current political scene is plotted along the line of Shakespeare's *Richard II,* a kind of formula Barbara Garson successfully used in *MacBird.* But if the Bard has supplied the plot, Myers has provided up-to-date punch and insightful humor. It's fresh as tomorrow's headline, perennial as a classic, witty, clever, funny, good satire!

THE TRAGEDY OF RICHARD II: The Life and Times of Richard II (1367-1400), King of England (1377-1399) Compared to those of Richard of America in his Second Administration, by Robert J. Myers; 128 pages; illustrated;

Mail to your bookstore or

ACROPOLIS BOOKS LTD.
2400 17th St., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20009

Please send me ____ copies of **THE TRAGEDY OF RICHARD II** at **$4.95** (hardbound) per copy and ____ copies of the paperback ed. at **$2.75** each.

My check for $_____ is enclosed.
Charge my Amer. Exp. # _____
or my Central Charge # _____

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip ____

Fine Print

Doris Grumbach

The Almanac of American Politics—1974 by Michael Barone, Grant Ujikusa and Douglas Matthews. No doubt it will come as a surprise to you, as it did to me, that this utilitarian reference work is a Book-of-the-Month alternate selection. Fifty thousand copies have already been sold, at $15, and in paper, $6.95 (Gambit). This success is strange because this volume is an enlarged, rewritten record of how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues plus everything you need to know and are not afraid to ask about their personal backgrounds (or what the senator or representative *wanted* the editors to know), how special groups rated their performances, the committees on which they serve, and, most useful from an indignational point of view, how to reach them by mail or telephone in Washington and at home. The authors' introductory essays on the political backgrounds of the states and the men who represent them are forthright and candid, justifying John Kenneth Galbraith's enthusiasm for the work: "the single most useful political document" to be found anywhere.

The Unfashionable Human Body by Bernard Rudofsky (Anchor; $5.95 paper). I missed this witty book in its Doubleday hardcover edition, but now here it is with all its original (in both senses of the word) illustrations. Rudofsky's thesis is that through the ages the clothing of man and animal has aimed at one purpose—sexual selection. In the animal kingdom the male "interests the female with his gorgeous garb," but in human society it is (or has been) the reverse. "To prevent the male from escaping, she [the female] has to keep him perpetually excited by changing her shapes and colors by every means, fair and foul." Coverage (a good word here) is not limited to the history of female garb, which has been done before, but extends to a fascinating exploration of what humans have done to the human anatomy to enhance or cover or disfigure it, all in the interests of attraction, fad, resulting in the cosmetic misrepresentation of the human form. This is at once a text with a thesis, a look-book, and a study of humanity in the grip of one of its less villainous foibles.

The Other Hampton by Calvin Tomkins. Photographs by Judy Tomkins (Grossman; $15, $6.95 paper). There are the elegant and select and restricted Southampton and East Hampton (transmuted by Scott Fitzgerald in *Gatsby,* it has been suggested, into East and West Egg), which every New Yorker knows about, full of shining white houses, people whose voices ring with money (again FSF), blue water, immaculate villages and expensive shops with Caddies and Mercedes nosing up to their white fronts. And then there is the *other* Hampton, aptly named Bridgehampton, which is none of these things. Judy Tomkins took pictures of the inhabitants (mainly black). These are revealing, honest and quite beautiful portraits of them, their inelegant houses and stores, their graveyards and churches and fields and roads, accompanied by simply told (and quoted) testimonials about the quality of lives spent in Bridgehampton. This is an Other America, a healthy antidote to your (possibly) incomplete conception of lush Long Island.

Some friends who run a fine used-books store from a series of barns near Greenwich, NY recently came upon a cache of Arthur Rackham-illustrated children's books in someone's cellar and sold them profitably and quickly. These classics are so in demand that original editions are very expensive and rare, but now Viking has issued facsimile editions of a number of the early 20th-century favorites in faithful, satisfying, inexpensive books. I have seen the one of **Grimm's Fairy Tales** ($6.95) with all the original, scary black-and-white, as well as color illustrations. I'd forgotten about "Clever Elsa," a sad yet funny story about a stupid wife whose husband wanted a clever one, and Fundevogal, another eat-the-children witch tale, and Jorinda and Joringel. . . . I intend to save these lovely productions until my grandson gets to an age when he can relish the horror of the tales, and the beauty of Rackham's illustrations.

Another omission in my reading when it first appeared was Eleanor Flexner's biography of **Mary Wollstonecraft,** which Coward, McCann & Geoghegan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

published in 1972, and which Penguin recently made available in paper ($2.50). This scrupulously researched and dispassionately written biography, runner-up for a National Book Award when it appeared, re-creates in all her complexity the strange person that Mary Wollstonecraft was. Of fragile health, although her health seemed always to improve with her state of mind and "situation," she was an independent woman who made her own way in an age of necessarily dependent women, was self-educated (and *well* educated) at a time when that was the only way a woman could be educated, and is remembered now for her one significant book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). She was a nonconformist in every sense. She lived openly with Gilbert Imlay, the American father of her first child, married William Godwin only very close to the end of her very short life and died giving birth to his child (who grew up to write *Frankenstein*). An agnostic during much of her writing years, she was "intent on removing the stigma attaching to a woman —any and all women—as creatures of instinct and feeling, devoid of intellectual powers or the capacity for intellectual growth." In her more pious days she wrote in a letter dated 1787, "Why have we implanted in us [*i.e.* women] an irresistable desire to think—if thinking is not in some measure necessary to make us wise unto salvation." For Mary Wollstonecraft mind and faith seemed at first, united, she saw them as enlightening each other, mind being a divine gift granted to women as well as men. *Vindication* was popular in its day, made her famous in England and abroad. Then it fell into oblivion and is only now, in the revival of interest in the roots of feminism, commanding attention—Norton Library has brought it out in paper ($1.95)—and widely read. Despite its "turgidity, its repetitions, its exaggeration" (Flexner), it was a brave, far-sighted document. The biography does full justice to it and to its author. At once properly critical of her as a woman, without fawning, Flexner admires her achievements judiciously while never falling into the trap of absolute devotion that so many biographers fail to avoid.

Old Unk

Even in dying, learning.
It drips through Unk's circuitry filling up moldy
Cells with pill data, death soundings.

The new on top, the old mashed under.

Under what is a war filed, a decade in Butte?
They linger in frosty caves tempered by coffee
And dead voices mumbling like buried pumps.

Remember the rabid skunk in the duchess's cupola?

But the pen stops penning the knowing, leaving the kiddies
Themselves to dig up the ironies,
The sour of sweeties,
Edens troubled by dysentery.

It was in the salad. It was in those ophidian canapes.

Yes, Unk lugs the load to graveside, and when some so-and-so
Is dragged out into forever by the undertow,
Cackles, "I could have told you so."

Could have told them so,
Except that he hated their guts for what he had sieved to know,
Old Unk.
Lost his marbles.

REED WHITTEMORE

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

latter-day French films by and about young people, including the anarchic editing and the gnomic dialogue rehashed from student graffiti. ("Phoniness is the hereafter." "My dignity is my cowardliness.") Lafont's bedroom and the lighting and the camera movement go right back to Jean Seberg's apartment in *Breathless* (1960). But through all these familiar strophes, the film conveys at last that these strophes *themselves*, of cinematic method and of characters' behavior, are the subject. Everything these characters have in their lives, every way we are given of looking at them, is derived from films without which this film itself could not exist, films that once derived their material from life. Thus *The Mother and the Whore* is image, where its predecessors—to a greater degree anyway—were reality. In the lives of Eustache's three characters, attitudes and stances have replaced beliefs, trivial routines—like the protocol of ordering drinks in cafés—have replaced religious and secular rites, intellectual chat full of Wildean inversions and signals of despair has replaced crucifixes and uniforms. This cosmos of commonplaces supplies at least fragments to shore against ruin, these routines at least provide a world in which the young man and the nurse can marry and to which they can safely resign the older woman. And the language in which they speak and collaborate on their cosmos is not French but the cinema of the last 15 years. They are not like kids in an attic dressing up in adult clothes and imitating movie stars. From the chromosomes out they are creations of a world created by film. Their lives, we feel, would be a film even if there were no camera present.

PS. I must pass this on. I went to see a porno film *(Not Just Another Woman)* while it's still possible to see one and heard the (unwittingly) funniest line I've heard in porno. A husband and wife organize an orgy with a dozen or so others. A few days later the couple are lying on their own bed. He turns to her and says, "Let's make love. Just the two of us."

COMING

William Kennedy
on *Spiks*
John Avant on
Advancing Paul Newman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personals

VINYL BUMPERSTICKERS! "Impeach Nixon!," "Nixon For Ex-President," "More Gas And Less Nixon!," "Nixon: America's No. 1 Non-Taxpayer," "Don't Blame Me I Voted For McGovern," "Visit $an Clemente (You Paid For It!)," "Honk If You Think He's Guilty," "Nixon Leaves Me Cold!." 2/$1, 6/$2, 20/$5. Bulk/dealer discounts. CHECKERS ENTERPRISES, Box 942E, St. Louis, Mo. 63188.

MY LETTER TO SIGURD tells an eminent lawyer, aged 78, how to be as limber, lively, healthy, as his older sister. $2.00. Practical, accurate and sane. G. Benedict, 2620 West 44th Street, Minneapolis, Minn. 55410

TROUBLING SECRET? GET UNINHIBITED VENTILATION plus in-depth counseling by cassette, letter, telephone. Effective, affordable. Free booklet on request. CONFIDE—Personal Counseling Services, Inc., Box 56-NRA, Tappan, New York 10983. Dail (914) 359-8860 anytime.

BUGGED BY WATERGATE? New Democratic Coalition Intern Program 1974 can help. Fifty trained Interns will give key Senatorial candidates the winning boost. Our 100% 1972 record has multiplied requests from vital, troubled candidates. We lack only impetus from our treasury. Please assist (applications also)! Intern '74 (Lents), 133 Oxford, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140

HOROSCOPE: 10-page report. Send birth information $10. Carol Wagner, Box 185, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 18015

"ROBIN HOOD WAS RIGHT" bumperstickers, "FREEZE PROFITS NOT PEOPLE" buttons, 2/$1, Bulk discounts, Movement for Economic Justice, 1609 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009

PRESCRIPTION MYSTERIES SOLVED. Now for the first time you can find out what your Doctor has prescribed. Complete manufacturers instructions; use, contents, contraindications, etc. Send name of medication and $2. to Nationwide Drug Company, P.O. Box 6096, Washington, D. C. 20005

I'M NOT A CROOK & IMPEACH NIXON & SENATOR SAM ERVIN T-SHIRTS, $4., 2/$7., 3/$10. Sweatshirts, $6., 2/$11., Sizes: Small, Medium, Large, X-Large . . . SHIRT-KING: Box 3893-N, MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, 60654

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566 N, Ojai, California 93023.

HELP OVERCOME DISCRIMINATION and severe underprivilege. Sponsor a Spanish-American school child in New Mexico. Correspondence. Visitation. $180. per year. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Rd., Washington, D. C. 20016.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th Street, New York 10016.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure. Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING INC. Dept. NR, 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

"SAVE HEATING OIL—SLEEP WITH A FRIEND" bumperstickers. 2/$1, 5/$2. Gambit Enterprises, 132B McCarty, Beverly Hills, California 90212

WATERGATE'S NOT WATER! It's cesspool of CAPITALISM BESPATTERING US. IMPEACH NIXON? Hell, IMPEACH CAPITALISM! Capitalism is the CAUSE of the cancers that convulse us. We need SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION. Why? What? How? Read THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, the magazine that cuts through the symptoms to expose the cause. Six issues for depreciating $2.00. Send no money now. Write IMMEDIATELY Box 825-R, N.Y., N.Y. 10010.

Peace Personals

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, POSTERS. Custom-made creative work—genuine low prices. Information: Sullivan Advertising Company, 16 North Central, Clayton, Missouri 63105

ANTI-NIXON BUTTONS OR BUMPERSTICKERS . . . 3 DIFFERENT SAMPLES . . . PLUS CATALOGUE . . . $1. BUTTON-KING: BOX 3893-N, MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, 60654

Campaign '74

RESEARCHER DESIRES TO WORK FULLTIME for Democratic candidate for U. S. Congress. Knowledgeable in Economics (recent graduate student), Defense, and Ecology. Contact Steven Greene, 2341 Ripley Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19152

Games

COUNTY FAIR AND CARNIVAL FAKIRS GAME EXPOSED: Cover the red circle with five magic discs. Complete game with secret instructions for $2.75 ppd. Florida residents add tax. Doherty, P.O. Box 2295, Tampa, Florida 33602

Photographs

BOB DYLAN PHOTOGRAPHS taken on present tour are incredible! Color glossy 8x10's: best shot $3.50, best three shots $9.00; Black/white glossy 8x10's: best shot $2.50, best three shots $5.00. Liberty, Box 441-B, Carrboro, North Carolina 27510. Satisfaction guaranteed!

Literature

FEMINISM FROM THE PULPIT: THIRTEEN SERMONS ON SEX ETC by Rev. Marjorie Newlin Leaming. Send $2.50 to Unitarian Universalist Church, 740 Main Street, Santa Paula, California 93060

CO-OPS! THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS: Read "Consumer Cooperation and the Society of the Future," by James P. Warbasse, founder, Co-op League of USA, Father of Consumer Cooperation in 20th Century America; 237 pages, $1.95, Consumer Cooperative Publishing Assn., 4294 Wilkie Way, Palo Alto, California 94306.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: Detailed coverage of undergraduate lecture courses, in book form. Valuable resource for teachers, learners. Sampler, catalog free. Write: FYBATE LECTURE NOTES, Dept. 10, 2440 Bancrott, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

THREE PAPERBACKS by Scott Nearing. THE MAKING OF A RADICAL, a political autobiography, 308 pages $2.45. THE CONSCIENCE OF A RADICAL, 192 pages, $1.00. FREEDOM: PROMISE AND MENACE, 210 pages, $1.50. All three postpaid for $5.00 from Social Science Institute, Box 120, Harborside, Maine 04642

INVESTIGATIVE REPORTER—Monthly Exposé—$12 year. Box 7218, J.H., New York 11372

SET UP A FREE INCOME TAX ASSISTANCE CLINIC to educate taxpayers on how to achieve tax reform. Full information and materials: Movement for Economic Justice, 1609 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009 (202) 462-4200

BOOKS ABOUT ARCHITECTURE, transportation, and Urban Environments. For price lists, write Deck NR, The Rigley Book Company, P.O. Box 26012, San Francisco, California 94126

READ THE GUARDIAN—newsweekly gives MARXIST viewpoint on national and international news. Special 8-week trial sub., $1.00. GUARDIAN, Dept. NR, 32 W. 22nd Street, New York, New York 10010. (Full year $12.50, student $7.50)

COPE WITH ENERGY CRISIS. Cut Power consumption costs, 10% to 30%. Home or Business. Send $2 for informative booklet: ENERGY, P.O. Box 459, Carlsbad, California 92008

FREE BOOK, Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, New York 14619.

ONCE IS NOT ENOUGH!

Special Introductory Offer

3 insertions for the price of 2

We realize that you can't test results on the basis of one week's classified ad so we will give you one week on us with your order for two weeks. Only 60¢ per word.

Please run the enclosed advertisement_____times in THE NEW REPUBLIC. Advance payment of $_____ is enclosed.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(See rates next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION, the 109 year old weekly still ahead of its time. Carey McWilliams, Editor. Try next 4 issues for only $1.00! The NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, Room 601, New York, New York 10014

AREAS OF CONCERN—Independent newsletter for concerned people. Free sample: AOC, Dept. NEWREP, P.O. Box 429, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010

Literary Services

YOUR BOOK PRINTED from well-typed manuscript. Economical. BIOGRAPHY PRESS, Rt. 1, Box 745 Aransas Pass, Texas 78336

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphic-copy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11011.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE" MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

LIBRARY INFORMATION. Research by professional librarians. All fields. Box 8202R, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217.

Summer Schools

INDIVIDUAL Handweaving Lessons by a Master Weaver. Very limited number of students. Certificates on request. Beautiful rural environment. Write to: Z-Handicrafts, Fulford, Quebec, Canada

Foreign Studies

LONDON THEATRE AND DANCE. July 1974. Two courses featuring shows, master classes, celebrity lectures. Three hours credit. Write: ETSP, Theatre Department, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas 75275

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week non-political non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 10 West 46th Street, New York, New York 10036. (212) 581-8113.

STUDY PROGRAMS IN FRANCE. Language, fine arts, performing arts. For information: Paris American Academy, 9 Rue des Ursulines, Paris 5.

PHOTOGRAPHY, AIKIDO, MIME STUDIES. YGGDRASIL: Torupvej 31, 8771 Hundslund, Denmark.

Camps

A SMALL, NONCOMPETITIVE CAMP. Golden Arrow, Deer Hill, Georges Mills, New Hampshire 03751

THE SIMPLE LIFE isn't easy. Learn farming in West Virginia this summer. Hodges, Prescott College, Prescott Arizona 86301

CAMP BLUE HERON, Port Loring, Ontario. Our twelfth year providing informal and individualized programs of nature study, canoe tripping, and fun. Co-ed, ages 8-14, 30 campers per session commencing June 23, July 14, and August 4. Transportation from Buffalo or Toronto and return. Write Box 160, Fort Erie, Ontario L2A 5M9. Telephone 716—633-6193 or 513—275-6976.

Employment Opportunities

SEEN THE WORLD? THEN CHANGE IT! In a Priest or Brother Career. Information write: Vocation Director, P.O. Box 1452, Wilmington, Delaware 19899

TEACHER ADMINISTRATOR: Leading school, college placement sources U.S. $3.00; Foreign $4.00. Current openings list. U.S. $5.00; Foreign $5.00. EISN, Box 105, Brookline, Massachusetts 02167.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 1167-N, Kailua, Hawaii 96734.

Employment Wanted

PEACE CORPS DIRECTOR, MA International Relations, fluent French, extensive experience in program development/administration; seeks directorship/program responsibilities in social/economic development organization. Available March 1974. Reply to: New Republic Box 6685

Spare Time

HOW TO MAKE MONEY WRITING SHORT PARAGRAPHS. Information Free. Barrett. Dept. C-456-H. 6116 N. Clark, Chicago 60660.

Property—Sale/Rent

HOUSE HUNTERS, Is your Realtor telling you everything he knows? For interracial neighborhoods list, write National Neighbors, 5 Longford, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19136

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? Suburban living, superior schools, near universities, integrated neighborhoods. Shaker Communities, 3494 Lee Road. Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, (216) 751-2155.

A SUMMER IN WASHINGTON, D.C.! Four bedroom, fully furnished house for rent—conveniently located near National Cathedral, with air-conditioning. June, July, August. New Republic Box 6690

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . FROM $7.50 Acre! Vacationing, Farming, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands throughout U.S. Send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 6588-SM, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Vacations/Travel

SEASHORE AND MOUNTAIN VACATIONS: Share ownership—use our condominium apartments, Lake Dillon, Colorado, and San Carlos Bay, Mexico. Philip Isely. 8800 W. 14th Avenue, Lakewood, Colorado 80215.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21 J Bell, Bayside, New York 11361.

Arts and Crafts

YOUR PORTRAIT IN OIL! $1.00 for art samples and information. P.O. Box 9293, San Jose, California 95157

JAPANESE WOODBLOCK PRINTS. Masterpieces by Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige, etc. Catalog fully illustrated with 486 subjects. $8.00. Write Adachi Institute, CPO Box 362, Tokyo, Japan or Fuji Ueda, 17841 Golfview Road, Homewood, Illinois 60430.

BUY SILVER sheet wire/casting grain at lowest prices. Fast service via UPS. Free 28-page catalogue: jewelry-making tools, supplies, books, including silver price charts. ARE CREATIONS, Box 155U, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.

HAND CARVED SPANISH COLONIAL FURNITURE & DECORATIVE ITEMS for the home. All hand crafted in MEXICO. Includes pottery, copper ware, trays, etc. For 45 page illustrated catalog send $1.00 to GUADALAJARA HOUSE, 2001 Garfield, Laredo, Texas 78040

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 50¢ Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Mass. 02339.

Gourmet/Cookery

"PUMPKIN EATER" COOKBOOK. Hundreds of pumpkin recipes. $2.00. Mrs. J. Strohsahl, 10210 Baseline Road, #106-B, Alta Loma, California 91701

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142

Records/Tapes

FREE 200-PAGE CATALOGUE offers over 1,200 fine recordings of Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Modern music. All stereo recordings. Highest quality at budget label prices. Available only by mail from MUSICAL HERITAGE SOCIETY, Box 932NR, New York, NY 10023.

Music

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

18TH CENTURY FRENCH HARPSICHORD in kit form. We offer an authentic replica of an antique French double manual harpsichord with four registers and buff stop. All parts accurately pre-cut and ready for assembly. Frank Hubbard, 185H Lyman Street, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

BURTON HARPSICHORDS AND VIRGINALS—Professional instruments in kit form. Burton Jacks (Patented), $220-$795. Write Burton Harpsichords, 917 "O" Street, Box 80222NR, Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE. Quality instruments and kits: Dulcimers ($20 up), Psalteries, Banjos, Thumb Pianos; books, records, HERE, Inc., #N, 410 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

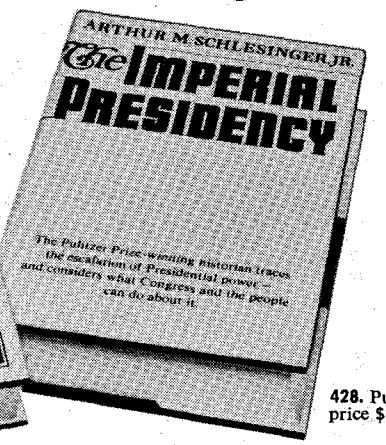
RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

FEB 14 1974

If you have a special interest in contemporary history...

150. Pub price **$8.95**

528. Pub price **$8.95**



428. Pub price **$10**

isn't this a good time to join the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®?

244. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOK BOOK *by* CRAIG CLAIBORNE Illustrated (Pub price **$9.95**)

132. AUGUST 1914 *by* ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN (Pub price **$10**)

461. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ADOLF HITLER *by* ROBERT PAYNE Photographs (Pub price **$12.95**)

391. BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE *by* DEE BROWN Photographs (Pub price **$10.95**)

521. THE BILLION DOLLAR SURE THING *by* PAUL E. ERDMAN (Pub price **$6.95**)

543. Pub price **$8.95**

114. EINSTEIN The Life and Times *by* RONALD W. CLARK. Photos (Pub price **$15**)

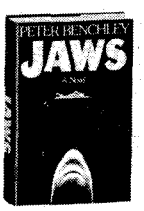
490. THE LUSITANIA *by* COLIN SIMPSON Photographs (Pub price **$8.95**)

260. THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF *QUOTATIONS* (Pub price **$12.50**)

378. A DIFFERENT WOMAN *by* JANE HOWARD (Pub price **$7.95**)

233. PENTIMENTO *by* LILLIAN HELLMAN (Pub price **$7.95**)

539. ALEXIS BESPALOFF'S GUIDE TO INEXPENSIVE WINES (Pub price **$5.95**)



217. Pub price **$6.95**

312. THE ONION FIELD *by* JOSEPH WAMBAUGH (Pub price **$8.95**)

514. THE HONORARY CONSUL *by* GRAHAM GREENE. (Pub price **$7.95**)

540. THE ANATOMY OF HUMAN DESTRUCTIVENESS *by* DR. ERICH FROMM. (Pub price **$10.95**)

236. HUMAN SEXUALITY *by* JAMES LESLIE MCCARY. 2nd edition. (Pub price **$14.50**)

352. REAL LACE America's Irish Rich *by* STEPHEN BIRMINGHAM Photographs (Pub price **$10**)

127. THE POETRY OF ROBERT FROST *Edited by* EDWARD CONNERY LATHEM (Pub price **$10.95**)

234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON Illustrated (Pub price **$15**)

292. THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ITT *by* ANTHONY SAMPSON (Pub price **$10**)

415. WORLD WITHOUT END, AMEN *by* JIMMY BRESLIN (Pub price **$6.95**)

171. THE AMERICANS The Democratic Experience *by* DANIEL J. BOORSTIN (Pub price **$10**)

501. THE AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER'S HANDBOOK *by* AARON SUSSMAN 1973 Edition Illustrated. (Pub price **$8.95**)

511. W. C. FIELDS BY HIMSELF *Edited by* RONALD J. FIELDS. Illus. (Pub price **$10**)

371. THE PROPHET *by* KAHLIL GIBRAN. Illus. *Boxed Deluxe Edition* (Pub price **$10**)

455. Pub price **$7.95**

431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER (Pub price **$15**)

271. THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST *by* DAVID HALBERSTAM (Pub price **$10**)

546. TO EVERYTHING THERE IS A SEASON *by* THALASSA CRUSO (Pub price **$6.95**)

135. LIVINGSTONE *by* TIM JEAL Illustrated (Pub price **$10**)

545. CROMWELL The Lord Protector *by* ANTONIA FRASER. Photos (Pub price **$12.50**)

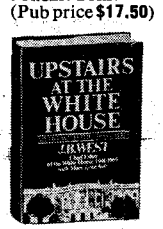
542. NICKEL MOUNTAIN *by* JOHN GARDNER (Pub price **$6.95**)

156. STILWELL AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CHINA 1911-1945 *by* BARBARA W. TUCHMAN. Photos (Pub price **$10**)

523. THE FIRST DEADLY SIN *by* LAWRENCE SANDERS (Pub price **$8.95**)

197. THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK OF HOUSE PLANTS *by* JOAN LEE FAUST. Illustrated (Pub price **$9.95**)

126. FRANZ KAFKA Letters to Felice *Edited by* ERICH HELLER *and* JÜRGEN BORN (Pub price **$17.50**)



504. Pub price **$8.95**

537. GLORIANA: The Years of Elizabeth I *by* MARY M. LUKE Illustrated (Pub price **$12.50**)

398. MARILYN A Biography *by* NORMAN MAILER More than 100 photos. (Pub price **$19.95**)

296. HOW TO BE YOUR OWN BEST FRIEND *by* MILDRED NEWMAN *and* BERNARD BERKOWITZ *with* JEAN OWEN (Pub price **$4.95**)

CHOOSE ANY 4 FOR ONLY $1

THE SUGGESTED TRIAL: You simply agree to buy four Club choices within a year at special members' prices

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
280 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 **4-A127-2-1**

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the four volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all four volumes. I agree to purchase at least four additional Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member, paying in most cases special members' prices. My membership is cancelable any time after I buy these four books. A shipping charge is added to all shipments.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE FOUR BOOKS YOU WANT

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
(Please print plainly)

Address.....

City & State..... *Zip*.....

IF YOU'RE LOOKING for books that can increase your knowledge and understanding of what's going on in the world today, it's time you treated yourself to a trial membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club. The titles included here represent the wide variety of significant books the Club regularly offers its members – outstanding books that analyze, interpret and discuss the major events and figures of our time. And you can have any four of these important new books for only $1, with a trial membership. So why not start today?

CONVENIENCES OF MEMBERSHIP

- You will receive the Book-of-the-Month Club *News*, a literary magazine published by the Club fifteen times a year. The *News* describes the coming Selection and scores of Alternates, and will be sent to you approximately every three and a half weeks.
- If you wish to purchase the Selection, do nothing and it will be shipped to you automatically.
- If you do not want the Selection – or you would like one of the Alternates or no book at all – simply indicate your decision on the reply form always enclosed with the *News* and mail it so we receive it by the date specified.
- If, because of late mail delivery of the *News*, you should receive a Selection without having had 10 days to decide whether you want it, that Selection may be returned at Club expense.
- If you continue after your trial membership, you will earn at least one Book-Dividend® Credit for every Selection or Alternate you buy. Each Credit entitles you to choose from over 100 valuable Book-Dividends offered every year. These books will cost you a small fraction of their value: often only $1.50 (somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes or sets). This unique library-building system enables members to save 70% or more of what they would otherwise have to pay.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED